



*50th Anniversary*  
*Connecticut College*

NEW EDITION • CONNECTICUT



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*Fiftieth Anniversary  
Celebration Publication*

CONNECTICUT COLLEGE 1911 • 1961

*New London, Connecticut*



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## *Introduction*

**T**HE FIFTY YEARS of Connecticut College's existence may be no more memorable than a similar span of time, say from 1770 to 1820 or from 1175 to 1225; but they seem so, probably because the acceleration, almost beyond comprehension, of most of the social and scientific processes that make up our mode of life has forced upon us an unusual consciousness of change. In fact, our present time is unavoidably aware of eras, their shape and timing, and much given to assessing the past to account for the present. In this respect 1961 displays the symptoms of crisis. They are not thus far the symptoms of panic, and if they escape becoming so it will be because we look soberly, courageously, and as intelligently as possible at those features of our culture that alarm us, and at those that encourage us.

The faculty and administration of Connecticut College are attempting to do just that. As we debated what sort of publication might best celebrate our semicentennial, we thought of publishing a collection of faculty lectures, or of faculty articles, or of lectures given at the College during the current year. In the end it seemed best to focus on addresses by three members of the College representing the faculty, the Board of Trustees, and the administration. Professor Cranz's paper on "The Problematic Inheritance of the West" was delivered at the opening assembly of the second semester of the College in February, 1961, and it seemed to the committee on publication so basic an appraisal of our present position that we thought it highly appropriate to publish it in this collection.

In the course of the year Mrs. Mary Foulke Morrisson, for 37 years the devoted Secretary of the Board of Trustees, delivered at the College, on a foundation set up in her honor by the League of Women Voters, a lecture dealing with the struggle of women in the country to secure the right to vote. Mrs. Morrisson was herself an important member of that crusade and has been all her life active in the political world. Because she deals with her subject in the humane and civilized spirit that has made her services to education so valuable, we thought we could not do better than let her lecture appear here.

Finally, the person best fitted to give some account of the present state of the college, President Rosemary Park, is here making that report. It takes the form of talks she has made in the course of the semicentennial year to various groups of students—her opening welcome

to the freshmen who entered in September, 1960, her short speech at Commencement, June, 1961, and her report on the changes in the curriculum made during the past year. Two achievements make the past year eventful for the College, the successful completion of the campaign for the Anniversary Fund, and the revision of the curriculum. Both of these are reported in President Park's speeches; but to give significance to the curricular revision, we are reprinting also, at the request of many alumnae and friends, a statement she made several years ago on the aims of the curriculum. These aims have not changed, and this address, with the details of the revision, should give a good account of our present educational ideals and practices.

This small volume is designed as a report to all alumnae and friends of the College on its present condition. It is purposely modest in scope and will not by its size or format represent fifty years of educational effort. We think it is better so, for what outward representation of a college can be made? That society, as Masefield said, where "the thinker and the seeker are bound together in the undying cause of bringing thought into the world" can be represented only by the minds which have been touched by it.

DOROTHY BETHURUM, *Professor of English*

# *Address To Freshmen*

*September 24, 1960*

ROSEMARY PARK, *President*

THOSE of you who have read our catalogue very carefully may have calculated that this entering class is the forty-sixth class to enter Connecticut College. You have come to us from all parts of the country, from all types of schools; your parents have many different ways of earning their livings, and you will have different aspirations about what college may bring to you. But today and on this occasion we are all, I think, united in this, that we feel a bit nervous. We here at the College are a bit nervous because we want to make a good impression on you and we want you to like us. And you, whether you be freshmen or foreign students or transfer students, you are all preparing to undergo here a major transplanting in your life.

You have been used to having your roots down in a certain kind of soil; you have expected the light to strike you from a certain angle, and heat was provided in a given amount. Now all of a sudden you are moved out of that protected hot house environment, and you must learn to put your roots down into a different kind of soil and expect light to come from different angles and in different quantities. You know that when plants are transplanted there is a time when many of them seem to fade a bit, and I think we are much more sensitive than even the most sensitive of plants. So perhaps it is natural that for all of us there may be a little time when there is a little fading. If you go through such an experience, please remember that it is perfectly normal, and then remember that only the sturdy plants are chosen for transplanting. I can tell you without violating any confidence that the experts who chose you to come here out of all the girls who wished to come saw something in your record which made them feel that you could profit by being transplanted here, that you could earn our degree.

Now when you undertake a transplanting, I am told that it is a wise idea to keep the plant in the darkness for a while, but with people exactly the opposite is desirable. People transplant better, I think, if they are enlightened about the process, if they have some idea

about what is happening to them; and so for the next few minutes I want to try to undertake this enlightenment, to ask ourselves what it means to be coming to college at this time in your personal lives.

Some of these answers are very easy. The first one, of course, is that you are coming to college at a time in your life which will never come back again, because you can learn more easily now than you will ever be able to learn again. What you will learn here will stay with you all through your lives. One might almost say that in these next years you are undertaking the interior decorating of your living for the rest of your life. You are determining whether it is to be sparse and niggardly or whether it is to be rich and varied and vibrant. One of the most moving stories I remember hearing from soldiers who had participated in the last war was that of a man who had undergone solitary confinement in a Japanese prison camp. When some of us who were talking with him asked him, "How did you preserve your sanity through all those months?", he said, "What I decided at the beginning was that I couldn't do it unless I had some kind of mental activity and so I tried to remember everything I had ever learned, from poems and hymns and psalms and multiplication tables all the way down. Sometimes," he said, "I spent weeks trying to get one word that didn't quite fall into place from something I had learned years ago." Now most of us will never have such an experience. At least we hope so. This is an extreme case, but after all a good deal of any adult life is a kind of solitary affair. What are you going to live on in those solitary moments? Now I think this is that chance to furnish, to interior decorate that life, for you will never again learn so easily and what you learn will never stay with you so long.

Another thing which is true about this time in your personal life—your opinions are not yet fixed, they are not yet frozen. For instance, you may come to us politically a good Democrat, and you may decide to leave us a "rock-ribbed Republican," as they say. You may come in a fundamentalist with regard to your religious beliefs, and you may leave us a Quaker. Many of you will cherish the same beliefs on leaving us that you had when you entered, but you will have a better reason and a greater understanding of what those beliefs mean.

Another point which, I think, is valid: your imaginations now are more ready and more active to feel sympathy than they were a few years ago when some experiences and things were not really real to you; and they certainly are more active than they will be later, when disappointments of various sorts may have blunted your sensitivity.

In short, all the growing ends of your life, whether we are talking about them from an intellectual point of view or a social point of view, these growing ends are strong and active and receptive now, and they never will be more so than they are today. So all of us hope that you will wish to spend these years with us in acquiring capital on which you are going to live the solitary moments of your life.

This is a particular time in your personal life, but of course it is also a particular time in history. We asked you to read a number of books—books which we would like to use as the basis for discussion with faculty and with students. Now some of those books I am sure you found very difficult. You may not even have been able to finish some of them. But whether you found them difficult or not, if you read them carefully, there certainly must have been areas which you found troubling to you. You will have noted that there were many facts in them with which you had not been acquainted, but you will also have noticed that the authors were less concerned about those facts than they were about the possible interpretations of them. And you will have observed that there seemed to be no right answer. In other words, these were not detective stories, for which of course there always is one right answer. They were asking, these books, questions about what is important for a man to live by. How does he make his choices? How does he make his choices in his individual life, and how do groups of us make our choices? What do we as groups think important? What has happened to our thinking on a personal level and on a group level since the great scientific and technological revolutions which you and I have lived through?

Now these books, books like these, could only have been written today, at a time when so much is happening in so many different areas and so fast that no single human being has a chance to digest it and understand the whole meaning of this time. It was best described, this time of ours, in a few sentences in the Presidential address given this summer in London before the Royal Society. Some of you will realize that the British Royal Society, the most honorable of all those societies throughout the world devoted to scientific research, has been in existence now for 300 years. The President of the Society, in commenting on this fact, said: "In achievement, the three hundred years since the founding of the Royal Society have exceeded all the infinite wastes of evolutionary time. By the scale of human events, these years are the fullest and longest in existence." In other words you are coming to college in a time of long years. Fifteen new nations or new

states were admitted to the United Nations last week. Moon shots, mammals projected into space, drug therapies for mental illness—these are only a few of the most extraordinary things which have happened in quick succession. Truly, truly the world did not use to be like this. It is an exciting time, it's an incredible time in which you are preparing to live, to live in a new role.

When I say that phrase, I am sure that a number of you will say, "Oh yes, I have heard that before about the new world, but I will just wait around and let them show it to me. I don't take this seriously." For such an ostrich attitude, my next remarks are not intended. More of you, I think, when I use that phrase, will be thinking something like this: "My life is complicated enough as it is, trying to decide what to do, what to think, what I ought to try to be like, and here she gets up and says that it's going to be more complicated, more difficult. How can I live in such a time?" And you would, I think, honestly be filled with a certain disquietude and fear. All new generations have asked such questions, but I honestly believe that no new generation has more right to the disquietude than you. As I said before, there is no right answer to the problems of fundamental importance which we raise today. And even if I knew it, I would not try to give you the answer, but I would like to make this suggestion.

You will have noticed, if you analyze your ordinary conversation and think a bit about the background of that conversation, how many words, ideas, concepts we use for which we really have no proof. We use words like "forever," "eternal," "timeless," though we have no proof for such concepts. We are talking here about a different dimension of time, not the time of your personal lives, not the time of history, but something we feel goes beyond those two. We see this in a small way when we all admit that ideas live longer than the people who formulate them or that works of art created thousands of years ago give to us a similar thrill of pleasure to that felt by the folk who first saw them. This, I think, allows us to suspect that for each of us there is a possibility of connection somehow to an area of existence which can persist beyond time. Now your education helps you in your intellectual development, it helps you in your social development, and here in this strange area which surpasses in importance either of those it gives you, if you are successful in finding the experiences which point in that way, the courage to persist in a time which is unexampled in complexity.

To pretend today that the process of living or that the transplanta-

tion which you are all going to undergo here is easy would be completely wrong. As I said at the beginning, you can pretend that this new world doesn't exist, that you don't have to exert yourselves, that you don't need to try to get your roots down into a new kind of soil and situation, that you don't have to brace yourselves. You can pretend that if you like, and all that I would answer you with is a sentence from one of Oliver Wendell Holmes' opinions. Justice Holmes said: "It is required of a man that he share the action and passion of his time, at peril of being judged not to have lived." This judgment "not to have lived" is one that none of us would wish to see or hear passed on our lives, no matter how self-centered we may be. So just from that point, aside from whatever social value you may be to the community, we have an obligation to make the most of our personal lives, at this really momentous time in history.

In doing that, in preparing to take your place in this kind of world, there are in college two very important hazards which you will meet; and in conclusion I want to speak very briefly about them.

The first of these is that you will be inclined, tempted to think of yourselves as too young to take responsibility for your education. And I hasten to add that you are not completely to blame for reacting in that way, because everybody in America likes to be younger than he or she really is. In most situations this kind of deceit is only rather a pleasant and amusing thing, but in your situation to pretend that you are too young to take responsibility and primarily to take responsibility for your education is really a fatal error. After all, no one can put your roots down for you. And I would remind you that in other civilizations you at this age would be married, supporting families, or at least providing food, seeing that they had shelter, and building the morale of a family. The Dean of Freshmen summed this up rather well in another connection when she said that we have in this country colleges for women, not girls. In other words, you are physiologically and mentally able to take the responsibility for preparing yourself through education for your future.

The other hazard is similar to this one. The other hazard you meet is briefly that of your sex. Here also there are lots of current misleading theories. There is a kind of feeling that girls ought not to be too bright, that they shouldn't study too much. They ought not to like mathematics and science, they shouldn't understand politics, and possibly they should have no sense of humor. There are many answers to this point of view, and I won't take them all up. I will mention

only two points. You may have seen the other day the prediction by the Undersecretary of Labor that by 1970, which would be six years after you have graduated from Connecticut, two out of every five women in this country will be in the labor force of the country. In other words, they will not be sitting on any satin cushions. That is one point which you may wish to think about. The trend is in that direction, and your question ought to be: "What kind of preparation have I got to contribute to the economic life of this country?"

The other thing which is even more general and more apt to happen, and you will probably laugh when I say it, is that most of you will probably live to be a hundred. Even, I think, the most romantic of you would agree that sex differences are not as important after sixty as they are before. So I would only draw this conclusion from that statement: that if you want to keep from being a stuffy old bore for forty years, that is, between sixty and a hundred, then you've got to learn to be something now. In other words, you can't rely on preserving either your youthful charm or your feminine allure through a hundred. To be young and feminine at sixteen is no achievement. To be a respected person at sixty is. Those are the two hazards, then, which I think you will run into in many forms as you start your college career.

But here you are in any case at the most exciting time in history—going to college, surrounded by the good wishes of your parents and friends, about to make new friendships, friendships that will last for you through the years, about to see new relationships in the things that you have learned and learning new things, furnishing the interior of your lives, and again with the assurance that the life that lies ahead of you will surpass in scope anything we have ever known in its complexity. So on this occasion we of another generation envy you, and we pledge you as your parents or your faculty friends our help and our guidance. We hope that you will make a successful transplantation to our College and that from it you will acquire the characteristics and qualities that will make you into a sturdy citizen of this world, where you will, I am afraid, unfortunately, live to be a hundred.

*Your College Education:  
Our Mutual Responsibility  
September, 1957*

ROSEMARY PARK, *President*

THIS EVENING we are going to talk about education, a word with which you are familiar, a process on which we are embarked, you and I and all of us here, but perhaps we view it from different points of view. If you are taking a journey of any consequence, it is helpful to meet someone who has made a similar trip and to have that person point out some of the things you might look for.

I remember very well as a young girl taking a trip down the Rhine with an elderly man and woman who were friends of my father's. This elderly man spent most of his time looking for old newspaper clippings in his luggage until his wife said rather irritably to him, "Now, George, here I brought you all this way and you are not looking at the castles." I do not want to have this happen to you, to have you pass some of the most magnificent scenery in the world and not see it because you are concerned with some triviality.

So this evening I want to say something about what happens to you in these four years here, admitting that it will happen at different rates. During this first year, you are in a transition from an educational institution which probably treated you as younger than you actually were to an institution which treats you as older than perhaps you are. Now this kind of difference will appear not only in the type of subject matter which you have a chance to study, but also in the method in which it is offered to you, in the kind of teaching; and you will notice too a difference in your interests and in your response to what is presented.

If I may begin with the last point, the kind of interest that you may show: most of you will find out, as the year goes on and as you go into your next year, that there are new aspects to familiar subjects which suddenly appear. You may discover that French is something quite different from what you thought it was in secondary school, or English has aspects that had not occurred to you. Suddenly you are interested in a way you never were before.

*A Chance to Make New Discoveries*

And then, of course, you will be studying new subjects, things you never have had a chance to look at before, or even know about—

things like philosophy, psychology, or sociology. And you may discover that you suddenly enjoy reading about these things even though you were not one particularly interested in reading before. This comes about, not because you were blind before, not because you had not had a chance to hear this about English or French or history or philosophy, but simply because you now bring a little more experience, you have lived a bit longer, your senses and your wits are sharper than they were before, and they hear different overtones, things take on a new meaning. Because this kind of thing happens, it is important for you in your first two years to elect many different subjects. Your interests may change as you grow and develop; and you should have a chance to try all sorts of things, not just to take the program that your parents and your former teachers think that you would be interested in.

Several years ago a Freshman and her parents came to visit me with this problem: "The College requires a course in natural science but our daughter is not interested in science. She has no particular capacity for it, whereas she does have a very great gift for languages, and so we are requesting that she be permitted to take a degree without studying science." We discussed this back and forth, but eventually it came down to the fact that this was the College requirement, that we thoroughly believed in it, for reasons which I will give you presently, and Mary would have to take science. With considerable grudgingness she elected chemistry. The end of the story is that she took a doctor's degree in chemistry and is now an instructor in the University of California.

Therefore I say, give yourself a chance to make these new discoveries and do not think that, because you have not been interested in the schools where you have been before, that you will not be interested now.

Now, as for the method: You will discover, of course, in many of your classes, that there does not appear to be any right answer. There is the answer that you give, the answer that your friends give, and possibly the instructor's answer, and there may be another answer in the book. Some of these answers are more adequate, or more likely, than others, but all of them, you will observe, require some defending by other facts. And all of this, I think, means a different sort of response on your part. The questions are not, for the most part, to be answered with simple, easily memorized answers. Memorizing is an important aspect of any learning, and that continues to be true in

college. It is also true that you can memorize more easily and more readily now in these four years than you will ever be able to again, so for goodness' sakes, memorize anything that you think is going to be useful to you. But rest assured that simple memorizing is not enough. You do need to know the facts, but you need to be able to play with those facts in order to defend the answer you have given. This is the important change, I think, in the kind of method which you are going to meet as you go on in your four years of college.

### *College is Just Part of the Process*

The teaching, of course, will be somewhat different too, because of this change in emphasis; more, I think, will be left up to you, and this is absolutely intentional. Most of us on the faculty think that we do not leave enough up to you at this point, and I think we are probably right. Our great error is that we bring you up to feel that if you have not had a course in the subject, you cannot possibly know anything about it. As to that I would remind you of the very simple fact that you can all read a book, and you know better how to read a book now than you did five years ago, and you will know even better how to read a book in four years than you do now. You will need help at various times and the instructors are there to give it, but they do not want to see you become a person who thinks that, unless teacher told me to read it, it is not important for me to do it. In other words, we want you to feel that these four years here are just part of the educational process which your whole life ought to represent, and unless you get a little bit of confidence in your own ability to find the material, to find answers, I am afraid you will go out from college and forget that you have the capacity to do it for yourself and therefore throw up your hands and say, "Well, I went to college for four years and we never learned that, so I cannot learn it now." If you consciously observe the way the teaching goes on in college, in this college or any college, you will notice this attempt on the part of the instructor to make you responsible for the process of education. You must expect long assignments and perhaps the instructor will not say, "I want this at nine o'clock on Monday morning." Perhaps he will not ask for it for a month, and then one day it will be relevant to a question, and you will be expected to know it. So be prepared to find the responsibility going back on you, where it will remain the rest of your lives. In some courses there will be a good deal of lecturing, and some of you will have had that experience before, and it will not rep-

resent a problem for you. But I think most people are not accustomed to listening for fifty minutes to a reasoned discourse; it is not easy to give and not too easy, I think, to follow always. You do not have to write everything down, you will probably find out, and, if I may say this just privately to the students, if you catch the instructor saying it twice, the chances are that it is a pretty important thing. But that does not mean that they always say important things twice; they may say them only once. In other words, you have to be thinking as this discourse is presented. You cannot be just a mechanical recorder of sounds, and this again, you see, puts the responsibility back on to you.

Then there are such things as discussion classes. You are probably much more familiar with those, and there I would only say this: There are two evils. Do not just sit back and let the rest do it. On the other hand, do not monopolize it just for the sake of talking. There is such a thing as talking when you do not know. When I first got a dog, I wanted to know how to train it, so I said to the vet, "How do I begin?" He said, "The first thing is to be sure that you are smarter than the dog." Now in this kennel we have gone to a great deal of trouble to be assured that all the trainers are smarter than the dogs. There may be one or two very smart dogs we have not come across yet, but by and large you had better assume that it is the other way round.

### *New Aspects to Old Subjects*

Now the last thing I want to say on this matter of method of presentation is that you will probably from time to time have to read or to study or to examine matters you have had before. It may be that the professor refers to the American Revolution—well, you know quite a bit about the American Revolution, so this seems to you pretty dull, and perhaps you do not notice in your complacency that there are some new angles to this Revolution. It is a wonderful experience to have ground under your feet, such as you will have if the material is familiar, but because it is familiar, for goodness' sakes, do not think that it is the same thing over again.

In this first year, there are all these discoveries, discoveries of new subjects and discoveries of new aspects to old subjects, and of new ways of communicating between you and the instructor. And sometimes the subjects will seem to you very full of challenge and other times they will seem rather boring. And so, I suppose, for all those reasons it is natural that in the second year a very interesting kind of

phenomenon occurs. In the second year, toward the middle of it, there comes very often a kind of discouragement about college, a discouragement because students begin to be aware of how much they do not know. They begin to be aware how difficult it is to really learn anything that matters, and so sometimes the question arises, "Is it really worth it all?" This is a question you will not ask this year probably, but you may begin to raise it in the next year. I think, therefore, that this second year is the most important year at college, next to the first one, just because of the fact that this very basic question, "Is college worth it?" has to be answered.

### *College is Worth What You Put Into It*

You must ask this radical question. If you have not asked it, I do not think you can really appreciate the experience that can be yours while you are here. If you raise the question, if you struggle with it, and if you look at the evidence, the answer is almost inevitable. It will not be for every single person, but it will be for most of you. Then you come out with something you can defend on its own merits and on your experience, not something someone else told you was important. And since I think that this is such an essential matter to settle early, I want to speak for the rest of my minutes here about this question of the value of college, because the other two years, the junior and senior years, are really not as difficult as these first two. They are calmer, more assured; the students have an idea of where they are going, even though they may tell you that they do not. It is a wonderful stage to reach; there are some different problems there but they can all be managed.

Let us consider now this basic question, then, of the value of it all. Of course, I start out completely prejudiced and so I will tell you that the answer to the question is, "Yes, college is worth everything you can put into it and a great deal more." The reason I say this is that life is not just making a living. It is also living a life.

### *Freedom from Provincialism*

You have these four years in college in which to learn how to come to grips with this thing we call living, and you need, I think, training and insight so that you will have the greatest possible capacity to understand the world in which you live, in case you never come back to it, and the greatest capacity to discover yourself, in case there never is another you. The traditional answer, and I think the right answer,

is that the best training for this living of a life is to be found in what we call the liberal arts. Anybody who uses the term will immediately tell you that it is connected with freeing, with freedom. And I will do the same thing and say that basically these subjects, these liberal arts, so-called, have as their purpose the freeing of you from provincialisms—from provincialism in time, for instance. We know so very little of our own experience about what went before. You know a little what it was like when your mother was a young woman; you have a hazy idea of what it was like when your grandmother was a young woman. And beyond that you probably have no idea at all. And yet you know that there have been thousands of years of conscious life on this planet and you are willing to settle for information about three generations, yours and your mother's and your grandmother's. This is an extremely provincial kind of attitude. And so we say that important in these freeing arts is the study of history in any one of its forms. Science, I think one might say, is also a kind of freeing, a freeing because it tells you about things in our world that are always true under certain given circumstances. This kind of knowledge widens your apprehension of the world in which you live. So the liberal arts, I maintain, do something about freeing you from the provincialism of time in which as definite, defined individuals we are all caught.

They do something too about freeing you from the provincialisms of space, by which I mean that you and I know very little about what it is like to actually be, shall we say, a Turk or a Greek or a Chinese. We know so little of the background, of the thoughts and the standards and the hopes of these people who live in this same world with us today, separated from us, to be sure, by miles, but not separated in the actual clock time. Here again we suffer from a kind of provincialism, unless we are willing to struggle to understand these other civilizations existing alongside ours, unless we try to comprehend what they stand for, how they can have significance. We study these things through language, and again through the social sciences—history and sociology.

And as a third possibility, the liberal arts are concerned with freeing you from the provincialisms which come about because of a lack of scope. We, to be sure, are mostly concerned with what human beings think and do, but we live in a world, a large part of which is inorganic, as far as we know, without consciousness. We do not know, you and I, terribly much about rocks. We know a little bit about

stars, but we do not know very much. We know that there are these strange things coming from outer space called "cosmic rays." We know a little bit about plant life and we have some ideas about animals. We are surrounded in our world by different kinds of life and are we right to limit ourselves, in our concerns, to what a human being can understand, apprehend, experience? Or is it not a part of being a human being to know something of the various kinds of life which share this world with us? These kinds range from the infinitely small to the infinitely large, and a study of them gives an understanding of the world and of yourself in most profound terms. Such an approach is just the opposite of the technical. Technical studies tell you how to do specific things, like running a typewriter, designing a piece of machinery, or taking a blood count. Technology asks, "How is it done?" whereas the Liberal Arts ask, "Why is it done?" or, what is even more basic, "Should it be done at all?"

Now you may say that at this moment you are much interested in certain of the liberal arts but can get along quite happily without some others. This is very much like a man who insists that he wants only to eat meat and does not want to bother with vegetables; such a character has not realized curious diseases are liable to plague him because there is no balance to his diet.

### *Spectrum of Subjects*

So the faculty has specified that in order to qualify for your degree you are to have a general group of courses covering the various aspects of the liberal arts, as well as special training in your selected field. It may help you to understand our reasoning if you picture these subjects as arranged on a spectrum, going from the most abstract and impersonal at one end to the most personal at the other end.

For instance, beginning at the abstract end of the spectrum, we can place mathematics and logic. These subjects will give you the rules by which any statement is said to be true any time and anywhere. Close to them comes science with rules which apply throughout the real world, whether or not you are present.

The social sciences come next, as somewhat less abstract, since they deal with the human sphere; but they still involve you relatively little. History, for instance, deals with how groups of people have behaved in the past.

For the most part our courses in economics and sociology will be

concerned with the way groups interact in present-day America. Here again what you think about it, whether you like it or dislike it, is not terribly important.

Then you come to this matter of language, which I list after history because it too is a kind of concern of groups of people. This involves you rather more because you can develop your own style of communication. You have an opportunity to be an individual in this sphere with a personal involvement. But at the same time language is concerned with the way whole groups communicate with each other, and there must be a set of rules applying anywhere within that group.

Then you come to the fields where you are most definitely involved, into fields like music and art where the question becomes, "What can the College do about your reaction to works of art, or to non-works-of-art? What do we do about the person who feels that the Saturday Evening Post cover is the very highest sort of art?" All I think you would have to do is make such a person look at the cover every morning, noon and night and before long he will not be able to stand it, amusing though it is the first time. If you look at, for instance, a Dürer print at the Lyman Allyn Museum, you can look at that morning, afternoon and night, and it does not get boring. Or there is a nice Courbet landscape down there; go and look at that. It seems rather tame when you first look at it, but you can go back and see it again, and it does not get tamer. It gets more exciting. Or there is a nice head by Lehmbruck there. It will seem very queer at first. Now, why is this? Why can you go back again and again? The answer is in the area of your developing aesthetic taste, and the College is responsible to see you do develop, and so you must know something about music and art.

Then finally we come to the areas where we are most deeply concerned, to the subjects of beliefs, your whole inward attitude toward reality, to the fields of philosophy and religion.

Now all these things have a kind of importance for you, because they show you what tremendous things the human mind, the human personality, has been able to achieve. If you could just somehow step back from these achievements of man, you would be filled with amazement every hour of your life that these things have been possible to such two-legged little monkeys as we. At the College, we believe you need to be exposed to all these areas of human knowledge, that you will want to major in one field, and that this should be your own and free choice. This idea of a major gives you a kind of home

base in the midst of this great tremendous realm of learning; it gives you a home base from which you can work all through your life. One of our alumnae married a man who had majored in English as she did in college. And when I go to visit there, it never fails that the alumna will take me aside at some point quietly and say, "Now, is it not terrible that John has never read *Clarissa Harlowe*? What kind of education do they have up there at Dartmouth?" Then, later, he gets me aside and says, "Do you realize that at Connecticut they do not teach them about *The Heart of Darkness* of Conrad?" Here is community of interest, which they can share all their lives.

Actually, I think, the point of my whole talk is here: the kind of knowledge that we are urging upon you at College is the kind of knowledge that is for the rest of your life. Making a living, however, is a part of our concern for you too, and I feel very strongly that every girl who graduates from here ought to have a marketable skill. We do not put this down in the catalogue. Miss Ramsay, when she speaks to you, will emphasize it, I am sure. You ought to be able to type, shall we say. You maybe ought to be certified as a schoolteacher in some state. This is a way of making a contribution to society, as well as earning your living. Perhaps you ought to know something about accounting and statistics, or perhaps you ought to know about laboratory techniques. This is something which I think is essentially your responsibility, but it is our responsibility to keep reminding you. Find a way that will enable you to get your foot in the door of economic life when you graduate from here.

Now I have tried to sketch tonight the reasons for these degree requirements; if you see them, you enjoy the process, you enjoy the education through which you go much more.

### *A Mutual Kind of Process*

All of this comes to you through the courses offered, which is another way of saying it comes to you through the faculty. And I want to say just one or two words there. A college faculty is an extremely interesting and original-minded sort of group. All of them decided, at some point in their youth, that the most important thing in the world was to be sure that the younger generation knew how to live, to live consciously, conscious of its past and conscious of the present. This is a tremendous decision to make and it is a difficult one to carry out. I do not want to get sentimental about it, but these people are dedicated people who feel strongly about this. Can you imagine what

it is like to correct, year after year, the same mistakes on papers, on inches, feet, yards of papers, and every year the same kinds of mistakes? Or think how you would feel if five or six papers, one after the other, say about a great play, "I do not like this book. It is too pessimistic." This is difficult to take when you perhaps yourself have thought of that book or play or poem as one of the great experiences of your life. So I am trying to show you that this is a mutual kind of process. There are difficult things for you in it and extremely difficult things for us in it. Remember, you are not entirely a pleasure.

Now this is a small College, and the advantage of a small college, of course, is that you do have a chance to know the faculty rather more intimately, if you wish to. And I really emphasize that, *If you wish to*. If you are interested in something that they say, and you want to discuss it further with them, you will find that they will be glad to talk. Why not ask them over to dinner some time? Ask them to coffee. You will find they will be glad to come, but they are a little bit shy about saying to you, "May we come over to dinner?" So perhaps if you remember that, you will find that the finest relationships can be built up.

There is one further point though. College is a process of enlightenment, and this process may be accomplished for you through a person, through a book, through a laboratory experience, in many ways. You will discover that, much as the faculty want to help you, and they do, they hope that you will discover above everything, above any relationship to them, there always exists what I will call the majesty of the subject-matter itself. We of the faculty, we care about you for the reasons I have indicated, but I think we can say without being sentimental that we care a lot more about truth, and we hope that you will want to learn and that you can learn that same kind of allegiance. We want you to know that, interesting as your reaction to a certain experiment or fact or book or person may be, it is not always important. You are here, I think, in a liberal arts college to get out of your skin and not to freeze up in it, not to be suffocated by undeveloped tastes or brains or emotions. And in this whole process there will be days of profound discouragement for you *and* for the faculty.

But there are also days, and more days, of very great excitement, again for both of you, those days when you say, "Oh, I see." This is when the little boundaries that are you begin to give way, and you see or you hear something that you were blind to or deaf to before.

We hope for this experience for you as you study with us for these years. We want you to know that this is an investment for you; it is something that pays off all through the rest of your life, and not only, I think, for you. But by becoming conscious of the past and the present and the possibilities of our world in all its forms, you live a civilized life. I suppose one could say that civilization is nothing but a mode of living in which there is a consciousness of the past and an awareness of the present and a general freedom from provincialisms. The barbarians, then, are the people who are still provincial. And it is important to realize that these barbarians are always encroaching upon us. So we have a joint responsibility in this business of education. You ask us to help you, and we ask you to learn as much, and as deeply, as profoundly as you can, so that together we can continue this process, this state of civilization which I honestly believe is always under attack.

# *Assembly*

*April 27, 1961*

ROSEMARY PARK, *President*

ORIGINALLY this Assembly had been scheduled as the concluding one in a series of discussions with the Freshman class on the choice of a major. I should therefore like to say something about that to fulfill my original contract with the clock, and then I should like to report on some recent faculty action which will be of interest to all students in the choosing of their courses for next year.

Most of us in the Auditorium now have been in the position at some time or other of choosing a major field; and, if we could pool our advice and hand it over to the Freshman class, I imagine that we would all agree that your choice of major field depends upon what you think you are, or if I may put it more drastically it depends upon what you think you are good for or what you think you are likely to be good for. Unfortunately this is not a very helpful answer because it takes most human beings more or less all of their lifetimes to determine who they are and what they may really be good for. So as in many occasions in life, you will have to make this decision on something less than sufficient evidence. As a kind of working or operating answer I would say to the Freshmen, "Choose your major according to what you think you really like, and know that you may wish to make some changes as you go on."

In other words, your choice of major should be determined by a genuine interest. It should be a genuine interest; not just something that you find easy, something you think you may make money at, something you might get a job at, or something that perhaps your father or former schoolteachers have told you would be good for you to major in. Frankly I think they may not know you as well as they think or you think they do. Propinquity is not necessarily a guarantee of understanding. The job that you think you are going to train for may be gone in this age of automation before you are ready for it, and I personally think it takes a great deal more than just training to make money so that when I say to you "Choose as your major something that you really like," I believe I am giving you the most practical advice. We all know that we do better academic work when we study something we really like, and your prospective employer will be looking at your total college record. Sometime you should talk

with Miss Ramsay, and let her give you some of the information she has in such tremendous amounts in her office about the girls who majored in what they liked and then got the most extraordinarily practical jobs. I always like to talk about the girl who majored in religion here and who was the only girl in one year that Macy's took to go on its training squad. This was because she had an excellent college record. There was the other girl who majored in German and later became the manager of Time and Life's Paris office. These things are related in a way that will become clear to you if you follow my advice. Anyway I think to major in what you like is an eminently practical suggestion.

But I do want to hedge this just a bit because of the times in which you are living and because of the country in which you are living. Very briefly what I mean is this. As I've had occasion to say to you before, you are the most healthy, the best educated youth of any in the world, and you are the citizens of the most powerful country in the world. I do not believe there is any reason to feel that you have deserved these advantages over the youth of other countries. Therefore it is fair to assume that society will expect to be paid back for the privilege which you enjoy of being a citizen of this country and even of attending this College. Now if you choose not to pay back, you will I am afraid be very likely to contribute to the economic or military disaster which, after all, we are on the brink of all the time in modern life, or you may be destroyed simply by having a life of utter frustration because there is no meaning to it. So that I would urge you, after you have thought what you really like, to think what needs doing in the world today and there are many answers to that. Most of them you are familiar with.

There is the whole vast field of teaching—and I don't necessarily mean teaching in the Congo. I mean teaching in the public schools of any of our great cities, or in some of our Southern states, or in Alaska, or even Hawaii, if you're adventurous. But any of the great public schools needs teachers. There is a tremendous field and something that needs doing. Then there is the whole rapidly expanding field of science whether you think of it in medical terms or in terms of counseling or psychiatric care; there are many, many aspects to this including the excitement of research. Then there is another huge field in government service; and there is the valuable contribution which educated women can make to the healthy conduct of community life. Here are the things that need doing in the world you

live in, and you ought to think about this as you think about your choice of major.

And then just one more thing. I have said this before, too. You will all live a very long time, and no man can really learn enough in his youth to last him through his old age. So I would say to you, don't confuse your major with mastery of a subject. The study of your major field will give you a basis for lifetime concern with it, whether that concern is professional or whether it becomes avocational. In summary I would say, regardless of your present grades in that field, take the field in which you are interested. Consider your responsibility to the society which has given you such great privileges, and remember that you will live a long time. You will live through times which are difficult and times which cannot use neurotic, self-centered, frightened women who demand privileges they have not earned. So choose a major you can like, a major that will give you discipline and work, a major that will give you a chance to be useful in your society and something in addition to feed on through the very long years of your, I'm sure, very long lives.

Now we're all aware of the fact that a choice like this is a difficult choice for you to make; and you will have, and have had, opportunities to talk it over with faculty advisers, with deans, and with your fellow students. You must also have drawn some experiences from your classrooms during the past semester and the present semester, and particularly from courses which we have included under the General Group. You will all, I hope, have acquired some sense of how much there is to learn. It was said not so long ago that the size of human knowledge, that is the sheer amount of it, doubles every seven to nine years, and that I think is probably more or less true. Think then just for a moment of what a task it is to be a teacher. New facts are continually being discovered, new interpretations are being presented; or even the mere progress of time itself in a self-conscious civilization like ours offers continually more to be taught to the young who cannot have experienced it themselves. And we know, fortunately I think for aesthetic reasons, that the brain does not increase and does not double in size every seven to nine years.

We are therefore faced with the fact that we must choose out of this increasingly tremendous amount of knowledge. We have to choose those things that seem most important for understanding, and we must keep choosing all the time. It's said, of course, and I think rightly, that no investment counselor will recommend your putting

money into any firm which is not turning back a substantial portion of its profits into research. Now college doesn't have profits. About the only thing it can turn into research is time, and I can assure you and any faculty member can assure you that this College is putting more than its share of time into a concern with educational research and continual examination of its course offerings and of its educational program. Some time ago, Connecticut College reached a decision as to the areas of study which would be elected by all students. We have called these the General Group, and we believe that this General Group gives you the best understanding or at least introduction to understanding of the Western tradition into which you were born, as distinct from the tradition of the East. We also believe that that General Group gives you an introduction to the varied capacities of the human spirit, no matter in what civilization they may appear.

We are all the time, however, concerned that we present this aspect of our educational program and indeed all the others—the major field and the elective courses—to you under circumstances which provide the best possible conditions for learning and for teaching. Now as adults we are sensible of the many varied pressures which modern life imposes, and we know that as you grow older these will increase and you will have to learn to choose and to live with them. We are sensible of these pressures, but we are even more aware of the urgent necessity for good education in this country if the world position of America is to be maintained. Then perhaps, more locally, we are convinced that certain colleges in this country must take a lead in providing the very highest quality of educational programs. We are agreed further that this kind of quality does not come necessarily from breadth of offering. We believe it depends on the intensity of learning, on the depths and complexities which are revealed to students through the teaching process. Therefore after many months of discussion the faculty has decided to make certain basic changes in our curriculum pattern here.

We believe that these changes will make our teaching more effective and that they will make your learning less superficial, that they will permit you a more secure grasp of understanding on the college courses you elect. We are quite aware that such learning under any circumstances is very difficult to achieve, but we hope that by these changes we are making real learning more possible. We know we are not making it easier.

Now I know that this seems a radical change to Connecticut College; and I would only like to suggest to you that, if it is radical for us, actually in the whole area of American education it is not so radical an idea. As a matter of fact, it was in effect as long ago as 1924 when I entered Radcliffe College. It has been in effect at other women's colleges, too. Most of you probably know that it is in effect not only at Harvard and Radcliffe but at Pembroke and Bryn Mawr.

I've said that the faculty believe it is a good plan, and I think you will find it a good plan as you come to work under it. I cannot and I do not pretend that it is easier. I do assure you that you will get more satisfaction out of working under this system because a higher quality of work can be expected from you and you can offer it. Next year we all have to understand will be one of experiment. Experiments I rather like and I hope you will. We expect that the excitement of working on a new program like this may bring up other good ideas for increasing the educational power of our programs here. We believe indeed that these changes will be good for all of us, both for the faculty and for the students.

# *Charge To The Seniors*

## *Commencement, June 11, 1961*

ROSEMARY PARK, *President*

WILL THE MEMBERS of the Class of 1961 please rise? As President of the College, I now have the honor of welcoming you into the Alumnae Association of this College. Aside from all your other virtues, you have the distinction, as you know, of being our Senior Class in the year when the College attains its half century of existence. Fifty years, I take it, is a great age for animals, except elephants and turtles, and a respectable age for human beings; but for an institution, fifty years simply means that it is firmly established in its community and in the estimation of its friends. One might call such an institution a young adult, old enough to be responsible, young enough to experiment, and experienced enough to make sound judgments. This, I think, is your state. You are young adults with some experience, some knowledge, and some taste. As a College, we have been responsible up to now for the development of these qualities in you; but now on graduation you become yourselves the faculty, the administration, the student government of that continuing education which is your life.

We are all aware, I think, that it was only an oversight that kept Aristotle from saying, "No man can learn enough in his youth to last him through a lifetime." Since Aristotle actually did not say this, I should like to quote you another authority, an authority, I venture to say, who has seldom been quoted from a Commencement platform and certainly never in a Commencement address. I understand that in a moment of illumination, and I think it was a moment of very great illumination, Mae West is reported to have said, "Too much of a good thing can be wonderful." Now it is my earnest hope that, Miss West notwithstanding, you will always feel this way about your education. Too much of this good thing can never be anything but wonderful. It can be wonderful as a memory and as a tool for the future. As a memory it is wonderful because you have learned to know here devoted, unselfish men and women who were more concerned to know and to have you learn to know than they were about anything else. This June, for instance, Professor Hannah Roach of the History Department is retiring after thirty-eight years of service, and Mrs. Josephine Hunter Ray of the English Department after

twenty-six years. You probably also know Miss Elena Misterly of the Residence Department, who is leaving us after thirty-two years on our staff. Many other members of our faculty and staff have given ten, twenty, thirty years of service to this College. In a country where one person in five changes his address every year, I think it is important to have known at some time in your life that this kind of unselfish devotion in one place is possible.

The memory of such disinterestedness, the memory of a community like this College which is concerned wholly for things other than the immediate gain, can be important for you as you go into a world which knows and sometimes admires quite different standards and values. You will realize, as you analyze this memory of yours about the College, that all of us here were concerned with something which was greater than ourselves. I will call it for the moment, this something, truth. And I would remind you, in parting, of that wonderful and probing question of Friedrich Nietzsche:

*How much truth can a mind bear?  
How much truth can you dare?*

*Wieviel Wahrheit erträgt,  
Wieviel Wahrheit wagt ein Geist?*

This truth is not a hidden treasure which we find and then possess; rather it is the goal of a life, whether that life be the life of an institution or of a person. So I hope this memory of us may become for you a tool, a tool with which you can meet and fashion the lives you are about to lead. And on this Commencement Day as we bid you farewell with affectionate regard and with high hopes, we send you all best wishes for success and happiness.

Now I would like to speak a word to this audience which, like the class, is present with us on an historic occasion, for this year, as I have said, marks the completion of the College's half century of existence. Fifty years ago this College was called into being by the imaginative concern of a group of men and women in this state who wished to advance the higher education of women. The labours and the visions of these early friends have borne fruit in the beautiful College which surrounds us today. Their interest has been amply and richly matched by the dedication of succeeding Boards of Trustees, faculties, and administrations.

But no institution, however fortunate, is ever quite immune to the problems of its own time. For private colleges like this, the years have brought increasing financial worries, in spite of the careful, not to say parsimonious, form of administration. So the question kept recurring in our councils, "Can an institution like this which has done so much with the gifts entrusted to it through the years count on continuing support through these difficult times?"

A vigorous but a theoretical affirmative was given to this question by the Board of Trustees when it established the 50th Anniversary Fund three years ago. This fund, to mark our Fiftieth Anniversary, was to raise \$3,100,000 by today for salaries, scholarships, library facilities and books, and the completion of our physical education building, the Crozier-Williams Center. It was agreed at the outset that this was to be "live money," to be spent over the next ten to fifteen years. Up to today there have been 5,951 contributors to this Fund from 50 states and 14 foreign countries. It is in effect the very largest single project which was ever undertaken by this College.

The magnificent cooperation of the Alumnae of the College has been the most important single factor in the Fund program. They have acted as Chairmen of our 34 area groups in 20 states and have served on area committees which had a total membership of 750 people. And as if this were not enough, they have contributed themselves in gifts and pledges, \$1,096,109, which is more than 35% of the total fund. The participation of graduates of this College in the Fund surpasses the participation of the graduates of any other college in any similar fund with which I am acquainted. At the moment, the participation of our graduates in this Fund amounts to 72.3% of the total group. This is an extraordinary and a heartwarming figure and could only have come about through the intensest work on the part of the Alumnae organization.

To the Trustees of the College a continuing debt is owed; but again, and on this occasion, their generosity has constituted a tremendous vote of confidence in this institution over which they preside. More than 11% of the total has come from this small group of generous and far-seeing men and women. The College, as you know, was originally an effort confined primarily to the state of Connecticut. Though this campaign has brought gifts from every state in the Union, it is with particular pleasure that I can record our special gratitude to the community in which the College has its home, Southeastern Connecticut. Under the very able leadership of the Secretary

of the Board of Trustees, Mrs. Mary Morrisson and her committee, Southeastern Connecticut has had the largest number of contributors of any area, 645. And this area has raised the second largest amount of any area, exceeding its large quota for a total of \$245,000—indeed a most extraordinary achievement. None of this magnificent report would have been possible without the cooperation of business concerns in many areas, but I wish particularly to speak again of Southeastern Connecticut, where 116 businesses have generously supported our Anniversary Fund.

In summary, then, it will not surprise this audience at this point to have me say that I was able to report at the meeting of the Board of Trustees held an hour ago that the College at this moment had reached its goal and that our Anniversary Fund now stands at \$3,105,000. And let me add a little P.S.; there are some gifts that are still coming in. This has been a tremendous achievement for this College. The confidence in our future which this success represents must be, I think, as substantial as the satisfaction of the Founders of the College when they saw the first building actually completed. As President I should like to express now most humbly and yet with a great sense of satisfaction our gratitude to parents and friends, to alumnae and trustees, to students and faculty who have worked together to assure the future of this great institution. The pride which our most recent alumnae, the Class of 1961, will take in the College has been increased by the success of this day, and I cannot imagine a more auspicious occasion on which to celebrate one's Commencement. May it prove, over the years, to have been for all of us an historic occasion.

# *The Problematic Inheritance Of The West*

F. EDWARD CRANZ, *Professor of History*

WE LIVE in a time when what we do in this country may well be decisive for the future of the West and of the Western tradition, when what we do within the West may well be decisive for the future of all other civilizations. And yet while we speak comfortably as proud possessors of our West and of our Western tradition, I question whether in most cases we have any very clear understanding of what these large concepts mean. If we did have such a clear understanding, I wonder whether we should find the West and the Western tradition such comforting possessions. Possibly we are not the possessors but the possessed; possibly our inheritance is not comforting at all; possibly even, it threatens to destroy us.

But before I turn to the main argument, which is an attempt to look a little more carefully at our Western inheritance, a few preliminary observations are in order. First of all, while any discussion of an inheritance or a tradition involves looking to the past, such a discussion has also a contemporary aspect. The past which has not affected us or which we have consciously rejected can hardly be called our tradition, unless in a merely hypothetical sense. And my own interest today is primarily in the contemporary aspect. I believe that the past has in various ways led us to a present which we cannot escape, and I am concerned not so much with our failure to emulate this or that greatness of the past as I am with the inexorable present predicament within which that past has placed us, willy-nilly. In other words, I shall be concerned with the *is* rather than with a possible *ought to be* of our tradition, and I am trying to limit myself to what we cannot deny about the Western tradition because we are it.

But is there any such common Western tradition or inheritance which we all share? We are citizens of different nations, hold different faiths, and come from different villages or cities. Would not each of these groups, and particularly the various faiths, define the West differently and in the light of its own particular tradition? Would there be very much left at the end as a common tradition, except perhaps a general agreement to speak respectfully in public

of the Graeco-Roman and of the Judaeo-Christian achievements? To some extent it is certainly true that we are determined by our own particular and special traditions, and my own standpoint here is that of Protestant Christianity. Nevertheless I don't think this is the whole answer, and I shall argue that there is a common basis of Western experience which is independent of and antecedent to these particular national, religious, and local traditions. All of us, Protestant, Catholic, Jew, and, for that matter, atheist and Moslem, if we are also Westerners, live in a Western "world," and it is in the area of such concepts as "world" that I think we find the Western tradition and inheritance which binds us all. I shall be arguing that from a historical standpoint the origins of the West are decisively connected with Christianity, but I also believe that in the modern world the Western tradition has been separated from Christianity and may be said to bind Christian and non-Christian equally. It is partly accident but also a good illustration of this fact that the few witnesses I shall choose from the most recent period are not avowedly Christian at all.

Let us now look directly at the development of the Western tradition, even though it is evident that in the time available, we shall be able to do this only in the broadest and simplest terms.

THERE are three basic components: 1. Greece (or Graeco-Roman civilization). 2. Israel. 3. Christianity. We shall first look at Greece and Israel together.

Greece and Israel held world-views which were in many ways different and opposed. On the Greek side, there was the dominant concept of the cosmos as a great eternal order of gods and men within which the individual Greek was able to find his place and his destiny through his own efforts. In contrast, on the Jewish side, there was the insistence on the total gulf between creator and creature, on the absolute need for the revelation of God's will, and on the law of God, revealed through Moses, in the practice of which the individual Jew was to find his place and his destiny in God's Israel.

But over against these differences, there were also certain key points of similarity. In the first place, both Greece and Israel insisted that the final serious decision, the final commitment of a man, had to be his own; whether or not he needed revelation to achieve it, no one else, no group and no society could do it for him.

For Israel, one could look at the conclusion of Job: "I had heard by hear-say of you, but now mine eyes have seen you. I therefore

retract entirely. I repent over earth and ashes.”<sup>1</sup> Or there is the promise of Jehovah in the New Covenant. “But this shall be the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel; after those days, saith the Lord, I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts, and will be their God, and they shall be my people. And they shall teach no more every man his neighbor, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord: for they shall all of them know me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith the Lord: for I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more” (Jeremiah XXXI, 33, 34). Job’s triumph is that he has passed beyond hearsay and has seen for himself; the great promise of the New Covenant is that no one need rely on anyone else’s teaching, for each shall know for himself.

These same affirmations are also central in the very different context of Greece. One might look for example at Book X of Plato’s *Republic* (617 DE) and the speech of Lachesis to the souls who are about to be born and who are to choose their lives and destinies: “Short-lived souls, this is the beginning of another death-bearing cycle for the race of mortals. No demon (genius) shall choose you, but you shall choose your demon. Let him who draws the first lot have the first choice, and the life which he chooses shall be his irrevocably. Virtue is free, and as a man honours or dishonours her, he shall have more or less of her. The responsibility lies with the chooser; God is without guilt.” Or, even more succinctly, there is Socrates in his *Apology* (38A): “The unexamined life is not humanly worth living.”

And if Greece and Israel are similar in asserting that the final decisions must always be individual, they are also similar in that each admits only one context within which the decision can be made. In Greece this is the context of the eternal cosmos; in Israel it is the context of the gulf between creator and creature and of God’s Law. Both Israel and Greece provide a single holy order within which man lives his whole life; outside this one answer of absolute truth, there can be nothing but error or vanity.

To take stock here, we have seen three main parts of a possible inheritance of the West from Greece and Israel. First, there are the special “world-views” of each civilization; second, there is the insistence of both Greece and Israel that the final decisions must be the individual’s decisions; and third, there is the common assumption that these final decisions can be rightly made only within the one absolute and holy order which controls the whole of life.

But of these three parts, I believe that only one is actually a com-

mon inheritance of the West today. We are not bound directly by the particular world-views of Israel or of Greece, by the Mosaic Law or by the eternal cosmos. We are bound as much as ever, or more, by the insistence on the absolute need for ultimately individual decisions. We are not bound, I believe, as were these civilizations, by the assumption that these decisions must take place within one absolute and holy order which controls the whole of life. It is this last point which is perhaps the most important and unique, surely the most difficult, part of the present Western tradition. I believe it comes ultimately out of Christianity, and to explain and to analyze this is my main task at the moment.

To state it first most briefly, Christianity contains within it two movements which are ultimately destructive of all civilizations which assert single and absolute holy orders controlling the whole of life. The first movement is secularization, which takes the holy and the sacral and then makes it worldly. The second movement is relativization, which takes absolute solutions and then relativizes them as merely possibilities among a number of equally possible solutions. And if the necessity of finally individual decisions is one inescapable part of the present Western tradition which we are, I think that secularization and relativization are equally inescapable parts.

The process of secularization can be seen most easily in the New Testament in the transformation of the Greek concept of the cosmos into the Christian concept of the "world." The cosmos had been eternal and divine, full of gods, and it was man's final destination. The "world" is the area of human experience, time-bound, and typically the "this world" of sin (but remember that even though the world is regularly seen as the sphere where the devil now reigns supreme, the term itself is neutral, and Paul speaks, for example of God's reconciling the world to Himself through Christ. (II Corinthians V. 19). And with this transformation of the cosmos into the world, we find a fundamentally changed statement of the context of human experience. The Greek stood in a single relationship to the cosmos; it was his home and his destination, and so was Israel for the Jew. The Christian, however, stands in a double relationship to the world, for while he is "in it," he is also "not of it."

The simplest statement of this new double relationship is found in Christ's prayer to his disciples: "I have given them thy word, and the world hath hated them, because they are not of the world, even as I am not of the world. I pray not that thou shouldst take them out of

the world, but that thou shouldst keep them from the evil. They are not of the world, even as I am not of the world. . . . As thou hast sent me into the world, even so have I also sent them into the world" (John XVI, 14–16, 18).

The Greek was grounded in an eternal cosmos; the Jew was grounded in Jehovah's holy Israel. But while the Christian is sent "into the world," he is saved only insofar as through God's grace he is not "of the world." And we shall see this double relationship, almost a necessary consequence of secularization, appearing again and again in the West in different contexts.

Further, as the Christian in the New Testament is not of the world, he appears as in some sense its lord and master. Paul speaks of the Christian before salvation as "in bondage under the elements of the world" (Galatians IV, 3; see also IV, 9). Now that they have been saved, he glories to them: "All things are yours . . . whether the world, or life or death, or the things which are present, or the things which are to come; all are yours. But you are Christ's and Christ is God's" (I Corinthians III, 21–23).

The second Christian movement with which we are concerned, that of relativization, is best seen in the New Testament in Paul's treatment of the Law, and his argument is primarily directed against the absolute claims of the Mosaic Law as a holy order, though he also takes account of the comparable Greek concept of the natural law. Paul writes in *Romans* that God sent the Jews the Law of Moses and that he also gave to the gentiles the law of nature. Both laws are divinely ordained, and each would suffice for those who used it rightly. But man in sin can be saved through neither of these, and salvation comes only through the grace of Christ. And Paul goes on from the relativization (which is almost a secularization) of the two laws, to a comparable relativization of Israel and Greece themselves: "There is no difference between the Jew and the Greek, for the same Lord is over all" (Romans X, 12). "Where there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free, but Christ is all in all" (Colossians III, 11).

In all of these passages, Paul is relativizing what had been absolute in Israel and Greece. He tells the Jews, proud in their possession of the law of Moses, that they are no better than the heathen Greeks. He tells the Greeks, proud in their culture and their philosophy, that they are no better than the Scythians, symbols of an illiterate barbarism.

And as the Christian in the New Testament doctrine of seculariza-

tion is above the world and somehow its master, so the Christian in the doctrine of relativization is somehow above all relativized laws and civilizations, and somehow their master. Paul boasts: "For being free of all men, I have made myself a slave to all men that I might gain the more. And unto the Jews, I became as a Jew. . . . To them that are without the Law, as without the Law. . . . I am made all things to all men" (I Corinthians IX, 19-23). Or more generally, "All things are lawful for me, but not all things are expedient: all things are lawful for me, but all things edify not" (I Corinthians X, 23).

To take stock once more, we have now examined a Christian statement which is still firmly committed to one position shared by Greece and by Israel: there is in the end an absolute necessity for individual decision and choice, for life cannot be lived merely by hearsay or without examination. But Christianity is here also committed to a more complicated position of its own, a position which no longer sees the man making these decisions as at home in an absolute holy order such as that of the Greek cosmos or the Jewish Law. The cosmos has been secularized; the law has been relativized; and in consequence the Christian must always play a double role. He is sent into the world, but he is also in some way above the world and its master. He is a Greek or a Jew or a Scythian, but he is also in some way above and free of all Jewish or Greek or Scythian standards or laws. They do not in the end possess him; he must possess them.

There were of course a great many other things in Greece and Israel that I have not said anything about; there are a great many things in the New Testament that I have not said anything about. What I am attempting is a work of reduction to discover, if we can, the elements of the Western inheritance which bind us all today. And the Western inheritance will emerge, I believe, not as a complicated and detailed picture like the world-views of Israel or of Greece, but rather as the grouping of a very few, very simple, and very difficult commitments.

OUR problem now is to see how the original components of the Western inheritance, Greece, and Israel, and Christianity, fare in later history, and particularly in the history of the West itself, in Europe and America. But it should be noted in advance that inheritances often have peculiar histories. In one sense it may be said that nothing of what we have noted was ever lost; throughout the

period with which we are concerned, the Old and New Testaments were always accessible and read, and even in the darkest periods at least the Latin writings of the Graeco-Roman inheritance were available. Perhaps more important, however, is that fact that the more radical and dynamic parts of the inheritance are constantly in danger of being ignored in favor of a solution in the form of a new single and absolute holy order. Thus, for example, in the history of Eastern Christianity, in Byzantium and in Czarist Russia, Christianity was to a large extent transformed into a new cosmology. The Byzantine Empire, for example, is interpreted as a copy of the Kingdom of Christ, and it is difficult to find any trace of the movements of secularization and of relativization, which, I have argued, will be essential in the Western tradition for us. Similarly the first age of Western Europe, say from the time of Charlemagne through the middle of the eleventh century, again presents us with a Christian civilization which sees itself as an absolute and total holy order. All aspects of life are sacral and holy; all rule and government is sacramental, and the unction of a king transmits a divine grace as efficaciously as the unction of a bishop.

But in Western Europe, the movements of secularization and of relativization, ultimately of Christian origin, gradually disintegrate this holy order to produce the modern West, and this is the process which we must now study.

The movement of secularization is the earlier, and here the first and perhaps the decisive step is taken by Pope Gregory VII at the end of the eleventh century. Gregory's main work is the destruction of sacral or sacramental kingship. The king is a mere layman; he has no special sacramental grace; and his office is not specifically Christian at all. When Gregory VII thus secularizes kingship, by implication he secularizes all rule and government, and I do not see that in later Western history this secularization of government has ever been successfully undone.

In the second main stage of secularization, St. Thomas (1225–74), following in the path of Abelard (1079–1142) secularizes Christian reason. Man's knowledge, according to Thomas, is gained partly through his own reason, partly through revelation and faith. But while faith is always ultimately the more important, reason is valid in its own right and independent of Christianity. There is no specifically Christian reason; it is merely natural, to use Thomas' term, or what we have been calling secular and worldly. In part St.

Thomas is here attacking and modifying the earlier medieval Christian position of a single, holy order as seen, for example, in St. Anselm (1033–1109), for whom reason is never finally serious except as a way of meditating on faith. Perhaps more important for our purposes, Thomas is here attacking the Greek holy order as it was known to him through the writings of Aristotle. Thomas will accept much of Aristotle's philosophy and much of Aristotle's "reason," but only on the condition that philosophy be limited to the worldly and natural sphere and on condition that reason itself be desacralized and excluded from any experience of the holy.

The third and last stage of Christian secularization is achieved by Martin Luther (1485–1546). While St. Thomas had distinguished between the natural and the supernatural, the worldly and the religious, he had also argued that the two could be combined within the unity of a Christian society or the unity of a Christian man; in his familiar generalization, "Grace does not destroy nature but perfects it" (e.g. *Summa Theologica* I, q. 1, a. 8 ad 2<sup>um</sup>). But if in Thomas the secular and the religious, the natural and the supernatural, can still be combined within the Christian's experience to form a harmonious whole, Martin Luther goes further and maintains that the worldly aspect of the Christian's experience is a *total* aspect.

According to Luther, the Christian has already been saved in heaven, and he participates this salvation through faith, but his heavenly justice is a passive justice which is hidden in Christ and which can never appear in the world. In the world, however, all things are worldly. The various forms of authority are God's masks; but God cannot be apprehended through the masks, and in the world we deal with God is hidden. Hence for Luther, the Christian leads a paradoxical existence in two separate realms. He is already saved in heaven; he continues to lead a life of merely secular justice on earth. Each realm is in some sense total, and while the Christian experiences them simultaneously, he cannot combine them.

With Luther then, we are far from Charlemagne and St. Anselm, and we have returned to a position on secularization which is in many ways similar to the radical aspects of the teachings of St. Paul noted earlier. Perhaps Luther's position seems to us even more extreme since it is a Christian and not a Greek or Jewish holy order which he is attacking. The world is merely the world, for Luther holds that only thus can God be God. Every man, even the Christian, is sent into the world, but the Christian through his salvation is also

above the world. Within the world man faces the various forms of authority which are the masks of God, but except for his awareness that these are the masks *of God*, the Christian knows no more about them than does anyone else. There is no such thing as a *Christian* morality or government or world-view. Further, within the world God subjects all to change and to history; the masks of authority which were binding for the Babylonians did not bind the Romans. And within the world, through the world, by the world no one is saved.

ONE might expect, perhaps, in the light of its extremeness and completeness, that Luther's restatement of the Christian inheritance of secularization would have ended this development and that we should still face secularism in such a form. Actually, this is not what has happened. Luther's radical insights on the world were dismissed, or at least relegated to obscurity by most of later Lutheran orthodoxy, and I do not think that Luther speaks directly to our common commitment in the modern world.

What happened is rather that from the early modern period we find the growth of secularism in a new context. This is no longer a secularism based on Christianity, which wishes the world to be the world so that God may be God. The new secularism instead wishes the world to be the world for the world's sake and as a final value. We have so far seen a number of world-views which claimed to be absolute and unique, Israel, Greece, or early Western Europe, but all of these claimed to be absolute and unique as holy orders. What we now have to examine is another attempt to set up a single absolute answer, best illustrated for most of us, I suppose, in the thought of the Enlightenment, where the absolute answer is asserted as simply natural and secular, a solution which far from relying on Christian or any other revelation, will prove all its points without recourse to revelation or religion or the holy.

I believe that it is this development which has led to the definition of the world which is binding on us of the West today, but a profound irony has presided over its history. Here was a movement of non-Christian or even anti-Christian character, and a movement whose aim was to make everything secular, to make the "world" total and exclusive. But its end result has been much nearer to the New Testament sense of "this world" than to the high hopes of its modern advocates.

The development produced a world of greatly increased knowledge and a world in which it was increasingly difficult to live humanly. It may have produced the world into which we have been "sent" in the language of the New Testament, or into which we have been "thrown," to use the language of modern existentialism, but it does not seem that we can really be "of" this new world; it cannot be our home or our destination. Secularism itself, one might suggest, has been secularized and relativized.

This is a most difficult development to analyze at all, let alone to do so briefly and simply, and I bespeak your tolerance. I shall use two main approaches. We shall first examine the tendencies of the modern world in terms of the ways we have of knowing it, and we shall do this for two main types of knowledge, natural science and history. Perhaps if we look at these basic modern ways of knowing, we shall be able to see something not only of what the world happens to be for us at a given time but also, and more important, what any "world" would have to be. Secondly, we shall look briefly at the different vision of the modern world as it appears not in our objective and common intellectual disciplines but as it is seen in the immediate awareness of philosophy and poetry. Here one must pick and choose, and I shall look briefly at the German philosopher Martin Heidegger (1889– ) and somewhat more at length at the poetry of Rainer Maria Rilke (1875–1926).

Let us look first at the development of a wordly natural science. In terms of the broadest history of thought what happened here in the early modern period was the transformation or disappearance of a Greek "cosmic" science in which man's mind intuited and comprehended eternal essences and divine beings. With Christian secularization such a science became impossible. Nicholas of Cusa (1401–1464), for example, writes in the fifteenth century that man can have only knowing ignorance of God and of Being; he can know only that he does not know. But God intended that man should study the creatures so that he might find out something about himself and about his creator. He can do this only by a process of comparison and measurement, and he compares and measures by a mathematics which he has himself constructed. (Compare *De docta ignorantia* I, 1 f. and *De beryllo* VI). And it is this new perspective, with its great renunciation of the wider aims of Greek science, which leads to the tremendous growth of modern science.

But as a result there have been crucial changes in the knowable

“world” in which man lived, for while a Greek could exist within the cosmos of Greek science, modern man cannot exist within the universe of modern science. First of all, as we have already seen, there is the exclusion of God and of Being from its world. Second, there is the exclusion of all questions of value and ultimate decision, since such terms always involve an arbitrary freedom which is excluded from the answer to the scientist’s question (though of course remember that the scientist does not argue that things do not exist because they are not the answer to his question). Here Machiavelli leads the way in his new science of government as he excludes the question of justice and the question of *ought* “But my intention being to write something of use to those who understand, it appears to me more proper to go to the effective truth of the matter than to its imagination . . . for how we live is so far removed from how we ought to live that he who abandons what is done for what ought to be done, will rather learn to bring about his own ruin than his preservation” (*The Prince* XV). Thirdly, there is the exclusion of the ordinary world in which we live and its replacement by a world consisting only of numbers arrived at operationally. In place of the cosmos there is the vision of infinite mathematical space filled only with geometrically defined extended objects. This is the universe from which Pascal recoils in human terror, “Le silence éternel de ces espaces infinis m’effraie (Pensées III, #206). And lastly, it would seem that in recent years, in the oldest of the modern sciences, an even more extreme stage has been reached where the world disappears entirely as a humanly meaningful object. Man cannot make any models from his experience by which he can understand his formulae; through the formulae he can operate on nature, but he cannot comprehend that on which he operates. In the end the world in which man lives becomes a hidden world, and man remains alone with strangeness. To use the words of the physicist Werner Heisenberg, “Thus even in science, the object of research is no longer nature itself, but man’s investigation of nature. Here, again, man confronts himself alone.”<sup>2</sup>

Let there be no doubt of my hearty support of this development. It seems to me that we are committed to this science by the very heart of our tradition which will settle nothing by hearsay and which will accept nothing without examination. But I think it is also clear that the science to whose questions we are committed and which from one aspect determines our “world” involves not merely a triumph but also a possible desperation. We have perhaps found a world into

which we are sent, but we can only protest that humanly speaking we are not "of it."

The modern mode of knowledge as seen in the discipline of history comes out of a similar secularization of earlier methods as in the case of science, but in history the exclusions and limitations take different forms. Perhaps we can analyze this most quickly by noting the way in which our modern history differs from that of the Old Testament. The Old Testament offers us a typical story of the past within the context of a single and absolute holy order. The history of the Jews tells of the way in which the one true God dealt with His chosen people, of the Jews' loyalties and disloyalties toward Jehovah, and of His crowning mercies.

Here are some of the main things which we have seen excluded from the purview of natural science: God, the holy, and absolute standards of value, but while it is true that history keeps all of these in some sense, it is more important for our purposes to notice how they must be transformed before they can appear in a modern scholarly history. Basically the change from the Old Testament approach is that our modern history is not a unique history of salvation but a relativized and secular story. God may appear, but we learn of Him only through the men who believed in Him. This historian qua historian does not know whether these particular men believed in the true God or, indeed, whether there is any true God. As historian, he has gone all the way and further, with the relativization of Paul: "There is no difference between the Jew and the Greek. . ." (Romans X, 12). Similarly the absolute values of any civilization may appear in modern histories, but we can learn of them only through the statements of the men who were committed to them, and the historian, qua historian, does not know whether this particular civilization is the one true civilization or, indeed, whether there is any true civilization.

Once more, as in the case of natural science, our knowledge of the world, where it is knowledge which binds us all, seems to be knowledge of a world into which we may have been sent, but humanly speaking we can only exclaim again that we are not of it. We cannot exist where there is simply no difference between Jew and Greek, between this civilization and that, for this is a world of mere possibility, of complete freedom to accept everything but no power to choose anything, and there is no place in such a world for human existence as we are involved in it.

So far we have examined natural science and history as two main theoretical approaches which define our modern "world." Both worked out to extreme solutions quickly, perhaps because their questions were so framed as to exclude the problem of man in his wholeness. By contrast, the problem of man in his wholeness, in his immediacy, is central to philosophy and poetry, and therefore their development could not quite follow the course of natural science and history. Nevertheless I think we can argue that they reflect the same context. Perhaps one could suggest that natural science and history have triumphed just *because* they have excluded the general problem of man and that philosophy and poetry, well aware of this triumph, find that for them it is not a triumph but a crisis, not an end but only a demand for a new beginning.

To look briefly at some aspects of modern philosophy first, one might regard its first main effort, say from Descartes (1596–1650) to Hegel (1770–1831) as a great attempt to discover and to demonstrate the total solution demanded by modern secularism, and I think that in the final analysis the attempt failed. If we take the tremendous system of Hegel as a typical culmination of the movement, it nevertheless seems that modern Western man could not accept such a philosophical theology or theological philosophy as an adequate description of himself and of his "world." The fundamental and perhaps in the long run the decisive attack on positions such as that of Hegel came from the Danish theologian Søren Kierkegaard (1813–1855). Kierkegaard denies the possibility of any public or objective solution to man's problems, and he insists that the only starting point is the unique individual's *existence*. (It may be noted that the Greek philosophers of the cosmos never troubled themselves much about mere existence. Their thought was directed rather to the discovery and analysis of essences which were eternal and for which existence could not be more than an accident. With secularization, the world no longer contains such essences, and we have seen one reaction to their disappearance in science and history, both of which refuse as a matter of method to take any cognizance of them. What we are now seeing in Kierkegaard is an example of early awareness of what it means to man himself that eternal essences are no longer there.)

If Kierkegaard first achieved in theology the basic insights of what we have come to call existentialism, within our own time there have been important philosophic treatments of it. In Germany, for

example, one thinks of Martin Heidegger (1889– ) and of Karl Jaspers (1883– ), and in France of Gabriel Marcel (1887– ) and of Jean-Paul Sartre (1905– ). In many of their details, these philosophies are very different, and it may be that to group philosophies under the heading of existentialism is itself dubious. Nevertheless, all of these men have attempted to take philosophic account of what we may call an existentialist experience, and it is this which concerns us here. I think that what these men have expressed in their various ways is true in general of Western man, is true of us, and can help us to see our own place in the world of modern secularization.

Let us look briefly at the account we find in Martin Heidegger's *Sein und Zeit*, published in 1927. Heidegger's ultimate goal is an ontology, a description of Being such as we find in Greek philosophy, but he is forced to admit, at least for his whole preliminary inquiry that Being in this sense is inaccessible to us, and here we see a reflection of the disappearance not only of the Greek cosmos but also of the universe of the Enlightenment. Man's starting point must be his own existence, or what Heidegger calls *Dasein*, and this is immediately experienced as "being-in-the-world." The mood of this existence is dread or anxiety, and "what anxiety is anxious about is 'being-in-the-world' itself."<sup>3</sup> The individual finds himself thrown into the strangeness (*Unheimlichkeit*) of a world in which he is never at home, and where he is threatened by the nothingness of the world and by death.<sup>4</sup> And Heidegger argues that most of us, though half aware of this threat, try to evade it by a retreat into anonymity, the anonymity of "everyone" and of technology and bureaucracy. But Heidegger himself insists that when man faces and accepts his "being thrown," his "being-in-the-world" and his "being toward death," he in some way transcends them and achieves authentic existence.

Rainer Maria Rilke in his poetry translates this existentialist experience into a very different form, and one much more easily accessible to most of us. However I do not think that what he is talking about is so very different from what Heidegger is talking about, and indeed Heidegger is reported to have once said that all he had done was to develop in thought what Rilke had expressed in poetry.<sup>5</sup>

On man's place in the world, Rilke's central affirmation in his mature period is that man is here a stranger and never at home. As an illustration, let us take the poem, *The Great Night*, written in

January 1914. The poet pictures himself at the window of an inn, looking out at the surrounding city which is the “world”:

... it still seemed to warn me off  
The strange city, whose unpersuaded landscape  
Looked darkly toward me, as if I didn't exist. Even the things  
    nearest to me  
Took no trouble to make themselves understandable to me. The street  
Thrust itself up to the street-light, and I saw only that it was alien  
...

    A clock struck  
But I began to count too late, and the hour escaped me.  
As a strange little boy, when at last they invite him to join them  
Still can't catch the ball, and knows none of the games  
Which the others play with one another so easily. He stands there  
    and looks away—where?

But in the remainder of the poem the mood changes, and Rilke transcends this alienation. It is important to note that the strangeness and alienation is transcended; it is not done away with:

So I'd stand, and suddenly realize that you, a grown-up Night, were  
    playing with me, and I gazed at you with astonishment.  
Where the stone towers looked angrily at me,  
And where a city whose fate was not my own surrounded me,  
And where hungering strangeness prowled round about my casual  
    flares of perception,  
There, lofty night, you were not ashamed to recognize me.  
Your breath passed over me, and your smile given to deep seriousness  
Passed into me.<sup>6</sup>

Rilke often compares this alienation of man with the at-homeness of the animals. In the first of the *Duino Elegies*, for example:

... the quick-witted animals already notice  
That we are none too securely at home in the world that we know.<sup>7</sup>

And if man is lost in the world of space, so he is alien to the world of time which threatens to destroy him with its ceaseless flux. Man has no homeland in time.<sup>8</sup>

But if Rilke develops in manifold ways the alienation of man in the world and time, he also affirms that when man fully faces the terror and the strangeness, it is, as we have seen in *The Great Night*, transcended and reversed, much as in Heidegger a man reverses and transcends his limitations and his nothingness by the full acceptance of them. In the poet's own words:

The danger, the whole pure  
Danger of the world . . . turns to security  
Just as you feel it most fully.<sup>9</sup>

And nature itself, according to Rilke, risks man and gambles dangerously with him, for only if he has the courage to realize his total unprotectedness, will he ever find security:

. . . What finally shelters us  
Is our defenselessness, and that we thus  
Reoriented it to openness, where we felt it threaten,  
So that we might somehow . . . affirm it.<sup>10</sup>

But what happens to the “world” on the other side of the reversal and reorientation, after one has completely accepted the world as world and admitted to oneself all the threat of secularization and relativization? I think we can see something of this in the poems of the late Rilke, and I’d like to look at these briefly, specifically the *Valais Quatrains*.<sup>11</sup>

In these *Quatrains* Rilke sings joyously of the noble country of the South, of its peasants, its vineyards, its fountains, and its church-towers. But it is also another picture of the world, though it is now a world reconciled and not a world estranged. Indeed there is danger that we may read the poems as simple idealizations of an age that is passing or past, a remembrance of a childhood Garden of Eden. But the truth of *The Great Night* is always present, and the Valais is never the naive, untouched holy order.

In the Valais, then, the danger and the alienation are not absent but rather transcended. Here is a country with a terror-inspiring sun, and where the presence of the invisible lends a terror-inspiring clarity.<sup>12</sup> But for all that it is primarily a joyous land, “a land which sings while working.”<sup>13</sup> And the Valais is joyous first of all because of its full acceptance of itself, with all the paradox and tension which this involves and finally conceals:

Far from attempting to escape itself  
This is a land in agreement with what it is  
And so it is both gentle and intense  
Both utterly threatened and saved.<sup>14</sup>

What is perhaps for our purposes the most important of the *Quatrains* looks at the Valais in its relation to time and to its own past:

Everything here sings the life of yesterday  
But not in a way which would destroy tomorrow,  
One recognizes, strong as in their first strength  
The heavens and the wind, the hand, and bread.  
This is not at all a yesterday which spreads  
Everywhere and fixes forever the ancient lines of the land;  
It is the land which rests in its image  
and which consents to its first day.<sup>15</sup>

Well, we have traveled quite a long road, and I thank you for your patience. It has been mostly a hard road too, and I am grateful for our brief stay in the "noble country" of the Valais. What remains?

First of all, in the Western inheritance which binds us today there stands unchallenged the old demand embodied in Job and Socrates. Our final decisions must be our own; in questions of ultimate seriousness there can be no mere hearsay, and we may accept nothing without examination.

Secondly, I think that we of the West are committed to and cannot avoid the challenges of secularization and relativization in relation to any single and absolute holy order; this commitment and this challenge are all the more demanding when they are supported by our primary obligation to go beyond hearsay and to accept the obligation of self-examination. Whether or not we are historians or natural scientists, I believe that we do as a matter of fact accept the presuppositions of these disciplines with all the consequences for what our common "world" must be. Whether we are devotees of Heidegger and Rilke or not, I do not think we can say that in their description of the human predicament they were simply talking about somebody else. I think they speak *to us* and *of us*.

I am not asking whether we like this; I am not asking whether we can imagine something which would be more comfortable. I am simply suggesting that this holds true of us. The argument is not intended to be exhortatory or hopeful; finally it stands or falls by the facts which we are. And if the argument stands, then it is only through the full recognition and acceptance of these obligations and commitments that we can, if at all, achieve the blessing of the Valais. In place of trying to escape ourselves we would then be "in agreement with what we are." We could accept our yesterday in a way that would not destroy tomorrow, and we too might be a land "which rests in its image and which consents to its first day."

In conclusion, I would like to notice something of what this might mean for us and for the rest of the world.

In the world of today, it is notable and in some ways tragic that everywhere traditions and inheritances are being broken and destroyed, and there seems no longer anywhere to be the possibility of a simply traditional society. There is in Ruth Benedict's *Patterns of Culture* a moving myth which she heard from an old man of the Digger Indians in the West. "In the beginning" the old man told

her "God gave to every people a cup, a cup of clay, and from this cup they drank their life. They all dipped in the water, but their cups were different. Our cup is broken now. It has passed away."<sup>16</sup>

It is important for us to recognize that it is primarily the West which in one way and another has broken these cups of clay, through the spread of Westernization in its technological and bureaucratic forms. Old cultures, simple or complicated, have been disintegrated, and for many of them, unlike the Valais, there will be no tomorrow.

Perhaps it is even more important for us to realize that it is by no means accidental that the West has broken the cups of these other traditions and other civilizations. What was broken was in each case a unique and absolute holy order and the West has broken such orders even when they were Western. But the difference is that what happened to these other cultures and civilizations happened as it were from the outside and in no positive relation to their inner obligations and commitments. I do not see how these other cultures could have regarded some of the aspects of Westernization other than as a demonic disruption of the right and holy order of things, a disruption which one could face at best only with bitter courage. In the West, however, the transformation of the tradition was not from the outside, it was our own doing; it was not, I think, an action of weakness but rather one of strength in acceptance of obligations and commitments inherent in the Western tradition. Something of this I suggested earlier in saying that maybe the Western tradition possessed us and that maybe it wasn't always a comfortable tradition. But my point now is that if we are committed to this tradition, then we must continue to affirm it, then we must continue to think it through, not by hearsay but with examination. Most important, we of the West should be the ones best equipped, possibly the only ones who are equipped at all, to deal with the predicament in which Westernization has placed modern man, not only within the West but in other civilizations as well.

At this point I shift from fact to hope. We have not, to my knowledge, done as much as we should have done in recent years, though there are pioneer explorations such as those of Heidegger and Rilke. But if we look back to our "first day" or our "first days" perhaps there is ground for hope. There is Jehovah's commendation of his creation in Genesis; there is the Greek faith in the goodness of the cosmos; perhaps most directly relevant, there is Paul's belief that while he had been crucified to the world and the world to him (Gala-

tians VI, 14), it was in order that finally "the world, or life, or death, or things present or things to come" all should be his (I Corinthians III, 22).

It is clear that for a multitude of reasons we cannot give up for ourselves or for other civilizations the "world" of natural science and history, for this is the world in which we have most successfully found the possibilities of avoiding our natural evils and of obtaining our natural goods. But if this world, with its secularization and its relativization, is not one in which man can humanly live, what of the worlds in which he has lived humanly, his villages, his countries, his civilizations, and his faiths? Essentially it seems to me that we must be prepared to reaffirm these old orders or to create new ones in a different modern Western context, a context which can positively recognize that we are, in the language of the New Testament, sent into the world but not "of it," in the language of Heidegger, that we are "thrown" into the world but yet able to transcend it. These orders will have their glory, but like the glory of the *Valais Quatrains* they must always presuppose and in some sense continue the alienation of *The Great Night*. They would have to be accepted, I think, as orders of grace in relation to power beyond man, as orders of creativity in relation to power which is human.

But where the "world" is everyone's, such orders could only be "mine" of "ours," and to discuss them would be to face a very different problem from that of the *common* Western tradition which has so far concerned us. We should have to move from the context of "fact" which has so far been our starting-point to the context of grace, creativity, and love, from the domination by past and future in history and science to a human present, open to the future like the "new creature" of Paul (Galatians VI, 15).

This is another story, and I hope a long story, which some of you may partly write, but which the West has not yet written. For our interim I know of no better advice than the moving remarks of J. Robert Oppenheimer in *The Open Mind*:

"This is a world in which each of us, knowing his limitations, knowing the evils of superficiality and the terrors of fatigue, will have to cling to what is close to him, to what he knows, to what he can do, to his friends, and his tradition, and his love, lest he be dissolved in a universal confusion and know nothing and love nothing. . .

"This balance, this perpetual, precarious, impossible balance be-

tween the infinitely open and the intimate, this time—our twentieth century—has been long in coming; but it has come. It is, I think, for us and our children, our only way.”<sup>17</sup>

And to close with a last quotation from Rilke. The poet begins:

My next-to-the-last word  
Will be a word of misery

It is not altogether unjust to suggest that for many the next-to-the-last word of the West which we have studied has indeed been a word of misery.

Yet Rilke concludes: “But my last word of all shall be good.”<sup>18</sup> May it be true of the West!

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Quoted from R. B. Stevenson, *The Poem of Job* (London, 1947) p. 20.
2. Werner Heisenberg, *The Physicist's Conception of Nature* (London, 1958) p. 24.
3. Martin Heidegger, *Sein und Zeit* I, 6#40 (Tübingen, 1953) p. 187.
4. *Ibid.* II, 2#57, p. 276.
5. J. F. Angelloz, *Rainer Maria Rilke* (Paris, 1936) p. 3, cited by O. F. Bollnow, *Rilke* (Stuttgart, 1951) p. 18.
6. Rainer Maria Rilke, *Sämtliche Werke* (Wiesbaden, 1955– ) II, pp. 74–5. Translation in part from Rainer Maria Rilke, *Poems 1906 to 1926* tr. J. B. Leishman (London, 1957) pp. 170–1.
7. *Sämtliche Werke* I, p. 685.
8. *Ibid.* I, p. 145.
9. *Ibid.* II, p. 131.
10. *Ibid.* II, p. 261.
11. *Ibid.* II, p. 557 f.
12. *Ibid.* II, p. 558 and 531.
13. *Ibid.* II, p. 568.
14. *Ibid.* II, p. 568.
15. *Ibid.* II, pp. 562–3. In the whole preceding discussion of Rilke, I have relied heavily on O. F. Bollnow, *Rilke* (Stuttgart, 1951).
16. Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (Boston, 1934) pp. 21–22.
17. J. Robert Oppenheimer, *The Open Mind* (New York, 1955) pp. 144–5.
18. Rilke, *op. cit.*, II, p. 520.

# *A Crusade*

## *And Some Crusaders*

MARY FOULKE MORRISON, *Secretary of the Board of Trustees*

*Presented at Connecticut College on October 12, 1960 as the second of a series of annual lectures in the Mary Foulke Morrison Lectureship, endowed in her honor by the League of Women Voters of Connecticut in 1959.*

IT IS A HUNDRED and twelve years since the movement for the emancipation of women took definite shape in the United States of America, at Seneca Falls, New York. For forty years American women have enjoyed the political freedom which is both the culmination and the guarantee of the rights won in a seventy-two year crusade. To two generations now, that freedom is a matter of course, taken for granted like sunshine, and very few have any idea of the hard work and sacrifice that won for us our liberties.

But it is a great, an amazing story. As you study it, as you consider the courage, ingenuity, patience and selfless devotion of the crusaders, the variety and kinds of obstacles they had to overcome, then you realize that the history of the Woman Suffrage movement in the United States is not merely an episode of the past, but full of vital meaning to all who are grappling with the problems of government today. We need to know it to understand the difficulties that beset us and to gain fresh courage with which to meet them. We must know the price paid for freedom, if we are to value it, to save it.

Let us see how far we have come. In the early days of the nineteenth century, according to the common law of England and the United States, "Husband and wife were one and that one the husband." A married woman was said to be "dead in law." A man controlled his wife's property, could collect and spend her wages, had absolute power over the children and could legally beat her with a stick "no bigger than the judge's thumb." If a woman was injured in an accident, the husband sued for damages due him for the loss of his wife's services. She did not get them. American women were pretty well treated on the whole, but there was no recourse against brutal husbands; and the doctrine of the Divine Right of Man to rule over Woman was believed by nearly everybody, even those who

had a large part in upsetting the equally old doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings.

Up to 1833 no colleges were open to women, no public high schools; a few private Dame schools taught the three R's and accomplishments to the daughters of the rich, the poor went without learning. Here and there bold spirits said they thought the new public schools should be large enough for both boys and girls but there was a storm of protest on the still familiar ground of economy. The female brain was supposed to be of different stuff, incapable of mastering matters like Greek or mathematics. As for the sciences, a woman who lectured on physiology to a group of other women as late as 1844 and used a manikin to illustrate, found her audience pulling down their veils, leaving the room and some actually fainting at the shock of such horrid indelicacy.

The greatest excitement was caused by a few women who dared speak from a public platform in behalf of causes in which they believed. Two young South Carolina women, Sarah and Angelina Grimke, horrified to learn that one of the slaves they had inherited was their own father's son, freed them all and came North to tell of the evils of slavery. They were gifted, courageous and eloquent, and they knew whereof they spoke. Their influence spread and the crowds threw rotten eggs and brickbats and burned Independence Hall almost over Angelina Grimke's head. But they kept on, as did others.

Some of these women were among the ablest speakers in the movement and were sent as delegates from their respective societies to the World Anti-Slavery Convention held in London in 1840. When they presented their credentials, a debate arose that makes very curious reading. They were implored to be ladylike and not force the issue. They replied that they had no choice; if they withdrew, their organizations would be unrepresented. One learned divine said that to admit women as delegates would not only violate the customs of England but the ordinances of Almighty God. It was pointed out that the ruler of England at the time was a woman whose voice was often heard in public and to good effect. And that this tender regard for the customs of England seemed odd in a body whose purpose was to upset the customs of the United States. But the men, and especially the clergymen, asserted so vehemently that to admit the women would upset the foundations of society and fly in the face of the Lord that their credentials were refused.

Walking back to the hotel from that stormy session, Lucretia Mott, who was a delegate though denied a seat, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, a bride whose husband was also a delegate, decided that if women wanted to fight slavery or any other wrong they would first have to win freedom for themselves. Then and there they resolved to call a Woman's Rights Convention and state their case to the world.

There were delays; Mrs. Stanton paused for a baby or two, but the Convention was held in Seneca Falls, New York in the spring of 1848. It was decorous and orderly and set forth a Woman's Bill of Rights, asking—for the right to an education, to enter the trades and professions, to own their own wages and control their own property, equal guardianship of the children, the right to make contracts, to testify in court, to vote and hold office.

The Convention created a great sensation. Editors attacked and clergymen thundered, but many rose to the women's defense and the movement grew. From 1850 to 1860 a National Convention was held in every year but one. They had their share of mobs and violence, but Susan B. Anthony, a resourceful lady, charged admittance to the halls so that the persecutors at least helped to pay the bills.

The next year saw the first woman doctor of medicine, Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, obtain her degree. During her three years of study, the women in her boarding house never spoke to her, and when they passed her on the street, pulled aside their skirts to avoid contamination.

At a teachers' convention Susan Anthony rose to speak to a question whereat the delegates wrangled for an hour before allowing her to be heard. The question was "Why is the teacher held in less regard than the members of the other professions?" When Miss Anthony finally got the floor, she said, "Don't you see, gentlemen, that as long as society says a woman is incompetent to be a lawyer, minister, or doctor, but has the ability to be a teacher, every man who chooses this profession tacitly admits he has no more brains than a woman." That hit them hard.

Speaking in 1860, Miss Anthony said the progress of the Woman's Rights movement had been remarkable. Where they had had abuse, they now got serious debate. One distinguished man after another rose as their champion. Few people had any idea how near the women were to victory. But in 1861 came the war. The women dropped suffrage and did valiant work. Dr. Blackwell, returning

from England where she had worked with Florence Nightingale, organized the Sanitary Commissions, precursor of the Red Cross, the finest thing of its kind the world had yet seen. Thousands of women worked in them and Lincoln paid high tribute to their services, but after they really got under way, Dr. Blackwell had to resign. The prejudice of men doctors at having to work under or even with a woman was so bitter that she got out rather than jeopardize the work. Another woman, Josephine Griffing, organized the Freedman's Bureau, the one practical attempt to cope with the appalling problem of negro refugees. Later the politicians took it over and she was forced out. Its final record was tainted with many scandals but it did indispensable work for a long time. Vast numbers of women worked in every conceivable way, running farms and businesses, filling in everywhere.

They did so well that the men were surprised and grateful and the women were prepared to take up their campaign again after the war when they found their cause hopelessly entangled in the two red hot political questions of what to do with the negro and how to keep control of the southern states. The 13th Amendment, freeing the negro, had passed Congress and awaited ratification. Now, like a bolt from the blue, came the 14th in which, for the first time, certain rights of the "male" citizens were defined, thus slamming the door on women as voters, while throwing it open to negroes, still in the complete ignorance of slavery. I shall not go into the details of that sorry chapter of our history. The women, deserted by all their former friends—Wendell Phillips, George William Curtis, Henry Ward Beecher—were forced to stand aside on the pretext that "this is the negro's hour, the woman's hour will come."

"To get that word 'male' out of the Constitution," said Mrs. Catt, "took fifty-one years of pauseless campaign, 56 campaigns of referenda, 480 campaigns for the submission of suffrage amendments, 47 campaigns to get constitutional conventions to include woman suffrage, 277 campaigns for planks in state party platforms, 30 campaigns for planks in national party platforms, 19 campaigns with 19 successive Congresses for the passage of the Federal Amendment, and the final work of ratification. Millions of dollars were raised, mostly in very small sums, and spent with economic care. Hundreds of women gave their entire lives, thousands gave years of their lives, hundreds of thousands constant interest and such time as they could. It was a continuous, seemingly endless chain of activity. Young suf-

fragists who helped forge the last links were not born when it began. Old suffragists who forged the first links were dead when it ended.”<sup>1</sup>

I wonder how many of us can visualize the work involved in that simple recital. Some of you may have tried to help amend state constitutions and know what is involved there. Yet you are voting citizens, who are listened to with respect by the men you helped put into office and who will need your votes again. Multiply that work by 480 and add the enormous difference in prestige and power between voters and non-voters and you get some idea of one item on the list. Have you ever conducted or taken part in a referendum campaign? There were 56 of them. In New York State the women were in continuous campaign from 1909 to 1917. It took six years to get an amendment submitted to the voters and it was defeated. When they were sure, near midnight on election night, a band of workers went to Times Square where they met the late crowds and standing on benches announced the start of the next campaign. In the morning they had a meeting and pledged a hundred thousand dollars. It took all that and a lot more.

The Amendment was repassed in the Legislature and was to be voted on in the fall of 1917. By that time we were in World War I and New York suffragists, like everybody else, were deeply engaged in war work. But they remembered 1865 and did suffrage work too. They distributed ten million leaflets, enrolled ten thousand watchers at the polls and got the signatures of one million and thirty thousand women asking that they be granted the vote, to say nothing of the ceaseless stream of meetings, parades, publicity stunts and the tremendous organization in every Assembly district that made it all possible.

But I'm getting ahead of my story. The New York election (in 1917) was a day of triumph, the beginning of the end, but it did not come until forty-nine years after the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment had shattered those early hopes. One ray of brightness shone in the gloom of those days. The Territory of Wyoming, in 1869, while the debate on the negro amendments was most bitter, gave its women the vote. It asked admission as a state in 1890 but there was word that Congress would not accept voting women. The Wyoming Legislature wired back that they would stay out a hundred years rather than come in without their women, so Congress yielded. The Territory of Utah gave women the vote in 1870, but Congress took it away again in 1896. There were party splits in Colorado in

1893 and in Idaho in 1896 as a result of which women got the vote there. All these were Western states, sparsely settled, where women had a scarcity value beyond that which they enjoyed in older and more thickly settled communities.

But these four victories were all from the end of the Civil War to 1910, in spite of ceaseless agitation, in spite of the obvious justice of the women's appeal, in spite of the great improvement in the status of women in other ways, and in a country founded on the principle that "Taxation without representation is tyranny." Why? The answer is twofold, not merely the difficulty of changing public opinion. We tend to forget that we are a Federation as well as a Nation. The qualifications of voters are fixed by the state constitutions with the exception of presidential suffrage for women, and can only be changed by amendment. Such an amendment must be approved by a two-thirds majority of both houses of the legislature in most states. In some states, the approval by two successive legislatures is necessary and then must be submitted to popular vote. In Illinois, for instance, before 1950, only one amendment could be passed at any one session, which meant that one had all the other reformers to fight as well as the forces of reaction. The proposal had to receive a majority, not of the votes cast on the measure, but of the votes cast at the election. This is a very great handicap as the vote for candidates is naturally far higher than the vote for measures. Most legislatures meet only once in two years, some only once in four. The different complications are very great and many state constitutions are, for all practical purposes, unamendable.

An amendment to the Federal Constitution requires a two-thirds majority in both houses of Congress and must then be ratified by either the legislatures or special conventions of three-fourths of the states. This seemed the easier way, but as long as women voted only in a few negligible western states, Congress would not take them seriously. The Senate appointed its own Woman Suffrage Committee in 1882, but during the thirty-five years of Republican control, the chairman was a Democrat from the deep South, where resentment against negro suffrage made them implacable enemies of further extensions of the suffrage, especially by federal action. One such chairman said, "No man alive can answer the arguments of those women, but I would rather see my wife in her coffin than voting and I will die rather than let the Amendment be submitted."<sup>2</sup>

In the last years of the movement there was much controversy

within the suffrage ranks over federal versus state work, but the National-American Woman Suffrage Association consistently stuck to the only logical course, introducing the Amendment in every session of Congress beginning in 1878, thus keeping it in the eyes of the nation and at the same time trying to get enough suffrage states to compel Congress to act.

The battle was incredibly discouraging. The Republican party, after making the women stand aside for the negro, should have come to their aid, but it rarely did and the only victories won in over forty years were due to party splits, with new groups bidding for support. Indifference the women could understand, but they also found, and after bitter experience learned to identify, a far more serious opposition—that of the liquor interests, who considered woman suffrage as dangerous as the Temperance movement. As long as this opposition was direct it was understandable and could be met, but it took far subtler forms—so called business men's associations, highly organized groups of brewers, distillers and "allied interests" with unlimited money. The manager of one of these groups in 1918 reported to his chiefs that the "allied interests" in Ohio had paid out a million dollars in five years to perfect an organization which performed with "unerring accuracy."

In the early days there were no corrupt practices acts, and Chinese in California, Russians in Dakota, Indians in Oklahoma and floaters everywhere, most of them ignorant and often illiterate, were marched to the polls and often paid off in sight of the women watchers. Mysterious things happened. In Iowa, where an amendment needed approval by two successive legislatures, engrossing clerks "lost the bill," or the Secretary of State "forgot" to give notice in time for submission to the second session. He apologized profusely—"the fault of a clerk"—but all that work had to be done again.

Towards the end of the fight Ohio women got presidential suffrage in 1916 by action of their legislature. The "unerring accuracy" group introduced into that session an amendment for *full* suffrage. The women fought it realizing that they needed to concentrate on work for the Federal Amendment. Then their opponents got out a petition for a referendum to take presidential suffrage away, thus showing what their sudden conversion to suffrage by the amendment route really meant. This petition was circulated by saloon keepers mostly and the frauds were obviously great. The women asked for hearings before the election commissioners of every county in the

state. They got them in four, and found that out of nearly ten thousand names on the list, eight and a half thousand were fraudulent. They were refused hearings everywhere else, the election was held and presidential suffrage taken away in 1917. In that election the "unerring accuracy" group concentrated on an amendment providing for a referendum on the ratification of Federal Amendments and carried it by 193,000. Then the dry legislature voted presidential suffrage for women again. In 1919 the Federal Suffrage Amendment passed Congress and that fall the wets circulated two initiative petitions: one to reconsider the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, the other to take presidential suffrage away again, but carefully did not get them in on time. That meant that they would come to a vote in 1920 and it was hoped in this way to prevent the promulgation of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, in case it was ratified in time, and thus keep women from voting in 1920. I am sure it has been as hard for you to follow this as it was for me to boil the story down to its essentials. There was a *lot* more. Can you imagine what it meant to campaign against an enemy so wily, so devious, so full of expedients and with the power of vast wealth? The brewers' agents reported that four and a half millions had been raised for one campaign in Texas and "they hoped it would be enough."

To go back to our history. Things looked so black in 1910 that even Dr. Anna Howard Shaw<sup>3</sup> felt the end would not come in her lifetime, but she kept on working just the same. Then, suddenly, victories: the State of Washington in 1910, California in 1911, the Progressive party with its suffrage plank, three states in the fall of 1912. In the parade at the Wilson Inaugural in 1913, Washington rowdies hustled the women, spat on them, knocked some of them down. The country was outraged and the movement won friends, in Congress and out.

That same year saw a new kind of victory, one which I believe really broke the deadlock between the almost unamendable state constitutions and a Congress that would not listen without many more suffrage states: Presidential Suffrage for women in Illinois. Lucy Stone, one of the great pioneers, had pointed out many years before that the Federal Constitution gave to the state legislatures the right to say who could vote for Federal electors, in other words for President. No state legislature in those days would consider giving women a vote in that way. But a lucky political situation in

Illinois in 1913 gave the Progressives the balance of power, and their leader, Medill McCormick, firmly believed in woman suffrage. The women in charge of the campaign had a real sense of political strategy. They were almost the first to apply the card-catalogue method of lobbying. During the long weeks of deadlock while the legislature was trying to get itself organized, the women found out all there was to know about every man. They classified them, hopeful, possible, hopeless, and let the hopeless severely alone, so that their enemies would not know what was happening. No vague expressions of good will fooled them. No man was listed as for the bill unless he had definitely promised to vote for it, and not even then, if his reputation for changeability was bad. If he said the women in his district didn't want suffrage, the state president called up key women there and they descended upon him and got him to see the light. One by one the cards shifted to the friendly side and the time came to press for a vote. It was going to be very close, and the story goes that when the State House elevator slipped its brakes and started plunging down, one of the suffragists, recognizing a friend as he whirled past her called out in anguish, "Oh, there goes a vote!" Luckily there were no physical casualties, though the man in question was so teased by his friends that he switched to the other side. When the bill got on to the floor, the opposition, realizing that they were losing, tried the usual tactics of delay and amendment. One such sounded very plausible and the outcome was uncertain until McCormick leaped upon his seat and in stentorian tones called out, "A vote for that amendment is a vote against the suffrage bill." To the fury of the opposition the move was stopped and the bill passed soon after.

The political effect of this victory was enormous. True, it gave women the right to vote only for President and certain local offices that had been created since the adoption of the State Constitution. But politically, the presidential vote was so important that women now had to be reckoned with quite as much as men, wherever they held it. The other suffrage states were western and agricultural, but here was a state east of the Mississippi, with the second largest city in the country, and a big industrial state as well. If suffrage would work in Illinois, it would work anywhere, and the Illinois women set about the business of making good on their new responsibilities with great seriousness and considerable success.

In this connection I am reminded of my Italian cook, who wanted

to know what all the excitement was about. When I told her, she said, "I am now the equal of my husband?" I said, "Yes," whereat she vanished and reappeared the next morning with a very black eye but still triumphant.

The card-catalogue method was now applied to Congress and the suffrage measure brought to a vote there in December 1915, but without success. So the women turned again to the states and had a bad two years with splits in their own ranks over strategy and disappointment that the day of victory, which had seemed so near, was once more delayed. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, a gallant and witty personality and one of the greatest orators this country has known, retired that year and was succeeded by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, to whose statesmanship and organizing genius the final victory is due.

1916 was a presidential election year and the parties were about to meet in their national conventions. Mrs. Catt decided the time was ripe for demonstrations. She planned a parade of women to take the suffrage plank to the Republican Convention in Chicago. The day for the parade dawned and with it came the worst cloudburst Chicago had ever seen. But to the everlasting glory of their sex, nearly 8,000 women marched the long distance from the Loop to the Coliseum. Some of them were over eighty years old but no one got pneumonia—a good cause is very warming. The Resolutions Committee was in session on the stage built up on the floor of the Coliseum and, as the last marcher entered, the president of the Antis concluded her peroration: "In the name of the women of America, gentlemen, we beg of you, do not force this burden upon them, they do not want it." She turned to face a hall full of dripping women, their colored scarves running over their uniforms and their straw hat brims hanging in ruffles about their faces, looking grim denial of that statement. They had faced pneumonia and cheerfully made guys of themselves to show just how much they did want it. The contrast was impressive. We got our plank and the Democrats followed a week later in St. Louis with another, favoring suffrage "by state action." It was there that Mrs. Catt's famous "Golden Lane" of women with yellow parasols lined the street leading to the Democratic convention.

Armed with this party backing the campaigns for presidential suffrage went well. Some southern states gave women the right to vote in the primaries, which, since they were one party states, was the

political equivalent of full suffrage. Then in 1917 came the great New York victory and the time for the final attack on Congress had arrived.

A two-thirds majority is a very difficult thing to get. The card-catalogue showed that we had the votes in the House, but by the narrowest margin. All the men on whom we counted were there when the vote was taken, though their loyalty was severely tested. One man was brought in on a stretcher from a Washington hospital to be present when the vote came. Another had had his shoulder broken in an accident, but stayed in the House walking up and down the hall in great pain, so as to be there when needed. There were heroes as well as heroines in the suffrage fight.

The Amendment passed the House and on the same day (January 10, 1918) English women got their full suffrage from what had been considered the most conservative parliamentary body in the world, the House of Lords. That distinction then passed to the United States Senate where the fight now was. The Prohibition Amendment had already carried and it was hard to understand the delay on the woman's measure. The poll showed two votes short and appeals were made to President Wilson to do what he could with the Democrats and to the Republican leaders as well. They tried their best but the Amendment lost. Then the suffragists decided that, since they could not change the votes, they had better change the men, and at the fall elections they succeeded in defeating two of their most bitter enemies.

The new Congress was Republican, so the Democrats, unwilling to let the credit of enfranchising the women go to their opponents, brought the Amendment up again in the Lame Duck session that still remained to them. The form had been slightly changed to make this possible. Two of the friends of suffrage in Congress had died and their places had been filled by men hostile to it. There were other shifts, but the Amendment finally lost by one vote. By this time twenty-six other countries had enfranchised their women and the delay was very hard to bear. Congress was not due to meet until December, but President Wilson called a special session in May 1919, and among other things earnestly urged the passage of the suffrage amendment. It went through the House in record time and on June 4th the Senate capitulated.

Then came ratification. You remember that most state legislatures meet once in two years, some only once in four. It was now so late in

the season that most legislatures were at the point of adjournment, some had adjourned. Lightning swift work was needed. The suffrage army mobilized and got eleven ratifications inside of a month. Then it became necessary to call twenty-two special legislative sessions if women were to vote in 1920. There were heart-breaking delays in getting them and expensive legal fights over the constitutionality of the Amendment, over the right of states to have referendum votes on ratification, a mass of confusing, bewildering technicalities, the neglect of any one of which might have undone the vast work of seventy-two years. Slowly, agonizingly, state by state ratified until only one was lacking. The women hoped for special sessions in Connecticut or New Hampshire, where the polls showed a favorable majority, but the governors refused to call them.

Then suddenly, (in 1920), there seemed a chance in Tennessee and Mrs. Catt went down to see about it. She stayed through two weary months of the hardest and most bitter kind of political fighting. I suppose no one who was not there can really imagine how bitter or how hard. Her mail was opened, her telephone wires were tapped, she was hissed and booed by rowdies in the hotel lobbies. Every kind of pressure was put on the men who supported the Amendment to make them change. A law had been put through the legislature in preparation for this moment, providing that an Amendment to the Federal Constitution could only be ratified by a legislature elected after the Amendment had been passed by Congress. This was now invoked to get from the presidential candidates hedging letters practically withdrawing their support. The law was unconstitutional, and the issue had been fought out with the governor before he consented to call the special session. However, the confusion caused by this apparent repudiation of the Amendment by the two party heads was very great and the opposition made the most of it. When the vote was finally taken the women's poll showed just enough to carry. What was their horror to learn that one of their friends had been called home by a wire telling of his baby's dangerous illness and had gone to the station. They followed him, found that he would have a long wait at a junction, arranged for a special train to get him there in time for his connection. He came back and voted and the Amendment passed. (The baby got well.)

Mrs. Catt could not rest even then. One of the opposition, when he saw that it would carry, voted for the Amendment so that he could later move to reconsider. Next morning the friends of suffrage

arrived to find that during the night the opponents had fled across the border to Alabama. They stayed there until enough of the friends of suffrage, weary of waiting, had gone home, to give an anti-suffrage majority. Then they returned to vote the Amendment down. The procedure was not really legal but there was just enough uncertainty about it to make the situation dangerous. Actually, Tennessee's proud claim to have been the state that put over the Federal Suffrage Amendment was upheld. But until that decision could be made final, it seemed vital to get more ratifications to be surely safe. So the weary suffrage leaders went back to Connecticut and New Hampshire, where the governors were at last persuaded to call the special sessions they had so long refused, and the long fight was won.

What kept the women at it all those years, what gave them the courage to rise again after defeat after defeat? The Antis used to tell us it was so silly to fight for suffrage, that any woman of importance and standing could get what she wanted from men without the bother of voting. That argument turned thousands of indifferent women into fighting suffragists. We fought for the poor and the weak, for those who could not help themselves, for children, for those neglected aspects of government about which women know more than men, and the vote was a tool we had to have to get that work done. The use that this and future generations make of it is their affair, the tool is laid in their hands. But it was dearly bought. When I think of those seventy-two years of ceaseless toil—the courage, the resourceful skill, the long slogging persistence—and remember that in spite of abuse and betrayal not one act of violence was committed by American women in order to make democracy complete—my blood thrills to have had even a small part at the end of so honorable a page of human history.

I have reminded you that the suffragists never resorted to violence to win their crusade. But what of the men—who, however slowly or reluctantly, gave them the victory? There have been very few instances in history where half the adult population of a great country, in a position of almost complete political and personal power, deliberately surrendered it in obedience to a principle (taxation without representation is tyranny) without having had any force to compel them. I am reminded that they not only had the principle but also the governmental machinery to make their action effective. This certainly helped—though it does not lessen the debt we owe them.

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What were they like, the women who inspired this revolution and made it happen? Four names stand out in the beginning, Lucretia Mott, Lucy Stone, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. All were abolitionists, all fought for Temperance, all knew at first hand the bitter injustice of the position of women.

Lucretia Mott, grandmother of Anna Lord Strauss,<sup>4</sup> was a Quaker minister, gifted, logical, eloquent. Quakers gave women equality with men in the affairs of the Meeting and in speaking, though they were not so wildly radical as to pay them equal wages. This rankled with Lucretia and together with the London Anti-Slavery Convention made her a suffragist. Gentle, soft-spoken, she was adamant on questions of principle, had limitless courage. When the mob, after burning Independence Hall, started out to tar and feather the Motts, a friend, starting ahead to warn them, found them sitting calmly in their home, unmoved as the noise drew nearer. Luckily another friend, more quick-witted, put himself at the head of the rabble and, hurling anathemas at the Motts, drew it off by another road.

Lucy Stone, a farmer's daughter, was outraged very early at the treatment of women by their husbands and the laws, and determined that when she got older she would change them. Then reading in her Bible she came across the text—"Thy husband shall rule over thee." Was God against women too? Her mother told her it was the curse of Eve and she must submit, but she decided to learn Greek and find out if the Lord's word had been correctly translated.

Her father thought learning for women was foolishness but he loaned her the money, at interest, to finish school so that she could teach. She started at the magnificent rate of a dollar a week and board, finally raised to sixteen dollars a month—"good pay for a woman." It took her nine years to save enough money to go to college—Oberlin—the first to admit women. She eked out her expenses by teaching, twelve cents an hour, and housework at the Ladies Boarding House, two cents an hour. The menu, incidentally, was meat once a day, bread and milk for supper, milk and thin cakes for breakfast. She wrote "I room in the highest story so have to carry water up two flights of stairs, wood only one flight . . ." Considering her income it was lucky that room and tuition were only sixteen dollars a year, but it takes a lot of two centses to earn even so little. Small, rosy, with an extraordinarily sweet voice, burning to right the wrongs of slaves and of women, she planned to become a lecturer and organized a debating society to get practice. Girls were not allowed to speak in public even at Oberlin.

She resolved never to marry. Then Henry Blackwell came along and, after endearing himself to her by his anti-slavery work, finally persuaded her that together they could do more work for woman suffrage than she could alone. He felt as strongly as she about the status of married women at that time. They signed a statement protesting such laws, saying that a marriage should be "an equal and permanent partnership" and agreed that Lucy should keep her own name, a world-shattering innovation.

They did campaign vigorously, but their most important contribution to the cause was, with their daughter Alice, the editing and financing of the suffrage paper, "The Woman's Journal." This was founded after Susan B. Anthony's radical publication "Revolution" had failed disastrously, after antagonizing most suffragists and many friends. Of "The Woman's Journal" Mrs. Catt said, "Suffrage journalism was not, could never be, a business to this family. It has been a duty, a joy, a consecration and an expense. The suffrage success of today is not conceivable without it."

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the only one of the four not from New England, was the daughter of a distinguished New York state lawyer. As a child, she heard many pitiful tales from women whose husbands had drunk up or otherwise disposed of their wives' property, with no recourse from the law. Once she followed one weeping woman out of her father's office and told her, "I'm going to cut all those bad laws out of the books and fix it for you." Her father got wind of this and explained that changing the laws was not so simple, thereby unwittingly starting her on a career of which he strongly disapproved. Her honeymoon was at the London Anti-Slavery Convention. It was she who added suffrage to the "rights" to which women aspired at Seneca Falls, where even Lucretia Mott said, "Why, Lizzie, thee will make us ridiculous." But they kept it in.

Mrs. Stanton had an extraordinary gift for writing—not always accurate as to facts and figures (Miss Anthony always checked them)—but vivid, persuasive, logical, eloquent. The mother of seven children, she was pretty, immaculately and elegantly dressed with carefully arranged curls. But beneath that placid exterior she hid a thoroughly radical spirit. Her work for suffrage was magnificent, but she could not resist extraneous issues. She championed the Bloomer costume, wrote a "Woman's Bible" with caustic comments on the references to females in Holy Writ, kept saying that the churches of every religion were responsible for the subjugation of women everywhere. She said that not only should drunkenness be

grounds for divorce, but that the fewer children born to drunken fathers, the better. She even went so far as to defend Victoria Woodhull, a brilliant, beautiful adventuress who not only preached free love but practiced it openly, and aspired to the Presidency, by saying that you did not inquire so closely into the private lives of men candidates. The effect of that in the Victorian age can be imagined.

For the most part Miss Anthony kept her on the track, but these outbursts certainly gave food to the Antis and finally caused the suffrage ranks to split into the National and the American Woman's Suffrage Associations and the founding of "The Woman's Journal" in place of the ill-fated "Revolution." My father, William Dudley Foulke, was president of the American Association, which admitted men and alternated men and women presidents. He had a lot to do with uniting the two organizations when the dust of the earlier battles had blown away.

Susan B. Anthony, like Mrs. Mott, was a Quaker, though her father married a Baptist and was later expelled for letting one of the rooms in his house be used for a dancing school. They were fairly well off and the girls went to an advanced school till a panic brought bankruptcy. The girls came home, Susan to teach. When the family finances improved and Susan could keep her own salary she had a period of pretty clothes and dances, but gave it up in disgust because of her almost universally drunken partners and went on to found a Women's Temperance Society. At first she was not much interested in the work of the Seneca Falls Convention, but Lucy Stone's speeches interested her and she came to know Mrs. Stanton. After her Temperance Society was taken over by men and wrecked, she flung herself wholeheartedly into the work for women's rights and suffrage.

She and Mrs. Stanton made a remarkable team, which lasted for life. Susan brought facts and figures, Elizabeth the philosophy and rhetoric, the burning words. Susan was the critic. She was also the organizer, tireless, of absolutely unbelievable energy and drive. She never married. She quoted Lucy Stone, "that all that was left of a married woman to put on her gravestone was that she was the relict of some one who had owned her. I made up my mind that no one could make a relict of me." When a campaign was on or an emergency challenged, Miss Anthony would go to Mrs. Stanton's, run the house and tend the very lively children while Elizabeth wrote. Miss Anthony would edit the product, and then go forth to speak and organize.

In 1890 after the two organizations were joined again, Miss Anthony was president until 1900, then Mrs. Catt, briefly, then Dr. Shaw, and Mrs. Catt again for the last crucial years.

Anna Howard Shaw was a Methodist minister, a doctor as well and a superb orator. She got interested in suffrage much later than the four women already described. Work in the Boston slums convinced her that only a change in the laws would help. She became Miss Anthony's right hand man until her death, and was an equally tireless worker. Small, with flashing black eyes, full of warmth and human sympathy and equally human indignation, she earned her living by lecturing and always kept her engagements whether speaking for suffrage or filling a pulpit. It doesn't sound so difficult now, but in her case it included being chased and almost overtaken by wolves in Kansas, or riding for hours in an open sleigh with the thermometer at 20 below zero. Once, while still in college, she was to preach for a friend in a lumber camp up north. The stage dropped her twenty-two miles from the camp at nightfall. The road lay through a deep forest and she had to drive all night to get there in time. Her driver kept telling her horrible stories of the women kept in stockades at the camps, and, when she protested, started to go for her. Whereat she pulled out a revolver and told him she was holding it at his back and would shoot if he stopped driving or spoke again. She kept it there all through the night. Church in the morning had an unusually large crowd of lumberjacks who took up the biggest collection ever known there. One was asked if he liked the sermon. "Wa'al, I dunno what she preached. But she sure has got grit."

What about some of the others, who finished the job? Very few of you, I am sure, ever heard of Mrs. Sherman Booth of Chicago. But it was she who made the card-catalogue of the Illinois Legislature and steered through one of the most skillful pieces of lobbying ever seen. Quiet, reserved, with a great faculty for staying unnoticed while herself noticing everything, she and her committee,<sup>5</sup> working very closely with Medill McCormick and the Progressives, literally put over the presidential suffrage bill that broke the old deadlock and made victory possible.

Others were Mrs. Stanley McCormick, right hand man for Dr. Shaw, who brought her keen mind and boundless energy to the fight; M. Carey Thomas, president of Bryn Mawr College, who raised the fund that made it possible for Dr. Shaw to continue her work when the outlook was gloomiest; Maud Wood Park, chairman of the

Congressional Committee that got the Federal Amendment through Congress and later first president of the League of Women Voters; our own Katharine Ludington, Connecticut State president, who finally got her Legislature to ratify the Amendment, and many, many, more.

And Mrs. Catt. There were many great women in the movement from the beginning, all indispensable for the start and development of the crusade. But the final crucial task, translating an ideal into the law of the land, needed a combination of vision and hard-headedness, courage and resource, patience and the swift seizure of opportunities, statesmanship and political savvy, and above all doggedness. Mrs. Catt had them all!

She was not the orator that Dr. Shaw was, not so colorful or warmly human, had none of her flashing wit, not much humor anyhow. She was a little detached, a little impersonal, always very gentle, very fair in her dealings. But to sit in a board meeting with her, as I did early in 1916, and hear her lay out a plan of campaign that took in every day of the year, every corner of the land, every woman in the movement was a breath-taking experience. If a woman failed her she never wasted time in blame but just got some one else and some one else and some one else, until finally the organization took shape and grew, equal to the strains upon it. She knew those strains ahead of time.

She knew, none better, the importance of accurate knowledge if you want to do a real job. She had been greatly helped in suffrage work by a close friend, Mrs. Frank Leslie, who left her nearly a million dollars to help the cause of women. The pressure was great to fritter it away on local campaigns. Instead she set up a research bureau to dig up facts about every angle of the woman's movement and make them available to workers through many types of publications. The League of Women Voters was trained in that school—get the facts, have them accurate, evaluate them, then act.

She was a rarely selfless person. She took leadership because she could see what needed doing, never from personal vanity. In the worst of the Tennessee campaign, in dreary days of discouragement, in moments of high triumph, I don't think she ever thought of herself, either as martyr or standard bearer. There was a job to be done, let's get on with it. When this one is finished, let's get at the next. A great statesman, a very great soul.

Great leaders are given, and under them great movements come to

fruition. Sometimes they are not given and then we just have to do the best we can with what we have, and a surprisingly large amount of good work has been done by and with pretty commonplace people. Problems are always with us, the day by day routine that either keeps life steady and fruitful or builds up resentments till they break out in crisis. All these are our responsibility, yours and mine. It's something one can't sidestep. Remember the old saying, "The crooks are put in office by the votes of the good citizens who stay at home." Democracy is not easy to operate, is no self-starter, but it is the only system in the world which gives to every man and woman the right to speak his or her mind, to work for the things in which they believe, to improve the fabric of the government under which they live.

An extra responsibility rests on all of us today. If we cannot prove quickly and plainly that a democracy can give its people as much stability and efficiency as a dictatorship, we'll have the dictatorship, the dictatorship of Communism. And the new emerging nations will have it, too.

Life today is too difficult, the pressures too urgent to permit the old muddling through. Don't forget, the greatest enemy of liberty is apathy. With the challenge of great danger upon us let us remember what that little band of women were able to do with no weapons but their resolution, their dedication to a great cause.

Where is there room for apathy today? We have tools they never dreamed of, the United Nations, the resources of science, of communications, of education. We have the certainty that failure means annihilation for most of the civilized world.

Where do we stand?

#### FOOTNOTES

1. *Women and Politics*, Carrie Chapman Catt & Nettie R. Shuler, Chap. IX, p. 107.
2. *Woman Suffrage and Politics*, Catt and Shuler, Chap. XVI, pp. 231-232.
3. President of the National-American Woman Suffrage Association, 1904-1915.
4. President LWV of U.S. 1944-1950.
5. Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, Antoinette Funk, Mrs. Medill McCormick.













